VOLUME 8, NUMBER 4

FALL 1972

Arms Control & Disarmament

A QUARTERLY BIBLIOGRAPHY WITH ABSTRACTS AND ANNOTATIONS

Prepared by the

ARMS CONTROL AND DISARMAMENT BIBLIOGRAPHY SECTION

GENERAL REFERENCE AND BIBLIOGRAPHY DIVISION · REFERENCE DEPARTMENT

LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

WASHINGTON, D.C.

L.C. CARD 64–62746

For sale by the Superintendent of Documents
U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C. 20402
Price: $1 (single copy).
Subscription Price: $3.50 per year ($1 additional for foreign mailing).

PREFACE

Arms Control & Disarmament attempts to bring under bibliographic control a large and growing body of literature in an important subject area. It is prepared by the Arms Control and Disarmament Bibliography Section of the Library of Congress, through the support of the U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency.

Each quarterly issue contains abstracts and annotations of current literature in the English, French, and German languages, as well as abstracts and annotations of current literature in all languages published in English translation. Author and subject indexes appear in the first three numbers of each volume, with the fourth number containing cumulative author and subject indexes.

To facilitate the use of this bibliography the title of each foreign language entry is preceded by its English translation in brackets. For the convenience of readers in the Library of Congress, locations are shown by call numbers for cataloged items and by symbols for uncataloged items and materials held by custodial units of the Library. A list of these symbols appears on the next page.

Matters of fact and opinion presented in *Arms Control & Disarmament* are solely the responsibility of the authors of the items abstracted, and their inclusion does not constitute endorsement by either the Library of Congress or the U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency. Information about the periodicals cited can in most instances be obtained readily from standard reference works.

The bibliography is compiled from a survey of the literature received by the Library of Congress that is likely to be available in the larger research and public libraries in the United States. Sources surveyed include trade books, monographs, selected government publications, publications of national and international organizations and societies, and approximately 1,200 periodicals. With the exception of materials delayed in arriving at the Library, the literature cited has usually been published in the 3 months preceding the month in which a number is sent to press. Entries are chosen under the assumption that arms control and disarmament is a subject area encompassing related topics such as weapons development and basic factors in world politics. The coverage is not exhaustive, however. It excludes articles in newspapers and the reporting of day-to-day events in newsmagazines.

The abstracts are written by the Arms Control and Disarmament Bibliography Section, except that abstracts or summaries published with the articles to which they relate are, with the permission of their copyright owners, sometimes used verbatim or in modified form and are designated as "abstract supplied" or "abstract supplied, modified."

Library of Congress Location Symbols

(Uncataloged and Unclassified Materials)

Chi Kor	Chinese and Korean Section
DLC	Books in process
Hebr	Hebraic Section
Japan	Japanese Section
LL	Law Library
Micro	Microfilm Reading Room
Nr East	Near East Section
N&CPR	Newspaper and Current Periodical Room
Sci RR	Science Reading Room
Slav Rm	Slavic Room

CONTENTS

	Page
Preface	iii
The international political environment	
Basic factors	391
Foreign policies	404
Tension areas	422
The strategic environment	
Modern war	430
Weaponry and technology	433
Defense policies and strategies	438
Consequences of defense policies and war	455
Insititutions and means for the maintenance of peace	
International law	461
International organization	463
International peace and security forces	467
Other means	469
Arms control: general discussion	
Historical background	473
General analyses	475
Comprehensive approaches	477
Arms control: specific problems and measures	
Reducing the risk of war	480
Conventional arms transfers	480
Nuclear proliferation	482
Chemical and biological weapons	486
Strategic arms limitation	487
Regional arrangements	490
Special environments	496
Enforcement of agreements	497
Consequences of arms control	500
Other problems and measures	501
Author index	503
Subject index	519

THE INTERNATIONAL POLITICAL ENVIRONMENT

BASIC FACTORS

1553
ASIA AND THE PACIFIC IN THE 1980S. Australian outlook, v. 25, Dec. 1971: 275-348.
DU80.A947, v. 25

Contents.--"Predicting" populations, by W. D. Borrie.--The USA and the 1980s, by J. D. B. Miller.--Nuclear arms and the Pacific, by Harry G. Gelber.--China in the 1980s, by Arthur Huck.--Indonesia in the 1980s, by J. A. C. Mackie.--Comment, by Coral Bell.

Articles based on papers presented to a seminar held in Canberra, Australia, in 1971, to discuss the prospects for Asia and the Pacific in the 1980's. Borrie examines population trends in Australia, Communist China, and the developing world, and reaches the conclusion that the population growth, and "plenty of it," which is a certainty for the rest of this century, creates problems that governments may be unable to control if they do not act soon. After a survey focusing on the domestic forces that shape U.S. foreign policy, Miller concludes that U.S. policymakers can be expected to put less stress on the dangers of subversion abroad, increasingly assume that Communist states are evolving in the same direction as bourgeois ones, and concentrate defense efforts on maintenance of a stable balance of terror. Gelber examines recent developments at the Strategic Arms Limitation Talks, in weapons technology, and in Chinese and Japanese defense efforts, and speculates on the possible implications for Australia. Huck argues that there is little evidence to show that the Chinese have imperial, or even hegemonic, ambitions. On the contrary, the Chinese are still uncertain of their power role and pursue a cautious, low-risk foreign policy.

1554
Baldwin, David A. INTER-NATION INFLUENCE REVISITED. Journal of conflict resolution, v. 15, Dec. 1971: [471]-486. illus. JX1901.J6, v. 15

Although students of international politics have a long tradition of power analysis, they have remained isolated from the literature on power generated by other social scientists since 1950. This is undesirable for both groups. As a step toward linking international power analysis with the work of other students of power, three tasks are undertaken in this paper: (1) The main foci of discussion in the power literature are reviewed in terms of the treatment they have received from selected students of international politics; (2) A critique is given of Singer's model of inter-nation influence; and (3) Singer's model is revised in ways that increase its compatibility with power analysis outside the field of international politics. (Abstract supplied)

1555
Banks, Arthur S. PATTERNS OF DOMESTIC CONFLICT: 1919-39 AND 1946-66. Journal of conflict resolution, v. 16, Mar. 1972: [41]-50.
JX1901.J6, v. 16

"Research for this paper has been supported by the National Science Foundation under Grant GS-2420. . . ."

This paper utilized factor analysis to reexamine the domestic conflict findings of Rudolph J. Rummel and Raymond Tanter for the 1955-57 and 1958-60 periods by extending the data base for eight of their variables back to 1919 and forward to 1966 (excluding the wartime period 1940-45). The results tend to support Rummel in the sense that three-factor solutions delineating "turmoil," "revolutionary," and "subversive" dimensions are possible at varying points of time after World War I, but the precise structure of the latter two dimensions tends to vary through time, while Tanter's two-fold distinction between "turmoil" and "internal warfare" dimensions remains relatively invariate throughout the contemporary era. Essentially similar results emerge whether variable cluster (R-mode or P-mode) or case cluster (Q-mode) techniques are employed. Finally countries loaded heavily on the turmoil dimension tend to exhibit high social welfare status, while the reverse holds for countries loaded heavily on the internal war dimension. (Abstract supplied)

1556
Beaufre, André. [THE STRATEGY OF THE USA AND THE USSR] Die Strategie der USA und UdSSR. Österreichische militärische Zeitschrift, v. 10, Jan./Feb. 1972: 10-15. U3.034, v. 10

What ground is there for a rapprochement between the United States and the Soviet Union? The current but contradictory motives underpinning Soviet policy are: victory for Marxism, defense and extension of the Soviet empire, prosperity, and the maintenance of the power of the Party apparatus. The priority for each of these motivations varies with circumstances. American strategy vacillates between a liberal and generous but systematic messianism and an economic and political egoism that does not eschew violence or artifice. This stra-

tegy is likewise motivated by four basic drives: victory for democracy, an American leadership role in the world, prosperity, and the reelection of the incumbent president. The goals energizing American and Soviet policy seldom run parallelly; in fact, some of them are in fundamental antagonism. The only common, noncontradictory goal of both strategies is the quest for prosperity. Rapprochement between these two superpowers may come about through a convergence of their economic interests.

1557
Bergeron, Gérard. [THE UNFINISHED COLD WAR; RETROSPECTIVE: 1945-1962, EXPECTANCY: 1963-1970, PROSPECTIVE: 1971-] La guerre froide inachevée; rétrospective: 1945-1962, expectative: 1963-1970, prospective: 1971-. Préf. de John W. Holmes. Montréal, Les Presses de l'Université de Montreal, 1971. 315 p.
D843.B44
Includes bibliographical references.

Partial contents.--What is the cold war?--From "non-peace" to the tension of the Korean war: 1945-1949.--From the extreme tension of the Korean war to the new "spirit" of détente.--From the détente of the "spirit of Geneva" to the unexpected tension at the summit: 1955-1959.--The two crises of prolonged tension up to the risk of total war: 1960, 1961, 1962 (Cuba).--A cyclical model of the rhythms of the cold war.--The post-cold war era since 1963, a kind of cold peace (1963-1970).--Conclusion or the beautiful daring of an impossible prospective.--Appendix.--Index.

Traces the history of the cold war from the beginning of the post-war period to the present and makes several projections of the international scene in 1985. Bergeron notes that the Strategic Arms Limitation Talks could have a significant role in the reconciliation between East and West but that their suspension would have grave consequences. He thinks the Middle East situation potentially more explosive than the Vietnam war.

1558
Carpenter, Stanley R. THE STRUCTURE OF TECHNOLOGICAL ACTION. Ann Arbor, University Microfilms, 1971. 218 p. Micro (Order no. 71-26,389)
Abstract in Dissertation Abstracts, v. 32, Nov. 1971: 2739A-2740A.
Z5055.U5A53, v. 32
Dissertation (Ph.D) "completed under the Dissertation Support Program funded by the U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency and administered by the National Academy of Sciences."

Philosophical study exploring "the nature of the relationship of knowledge to technological action." Carpenter's analysis explores the way in which knowledge increases the efficiency of technological action and the deliberate employment of knowledge to study technological action. He also deals with definitions of technology, routine and complex forms of knowledge, and the relationship between applied science and technology. Employing "the science of effective practical action--praxiology--as defined by the Polish analytic philosopher Tadeusz Kotarbinski" Carpenter develops "a theoretical schema and a formalism which characterizes and classifies the diversity of actions embodied in technological responses."

1559
Cattani, Alfred. [REVERSAL OF THE ALLIANCES?] Renversement des alliances? Schweizer Monatshefte, v. 51, Feb. 1972: [789]-792.
AP32.S47, v. 51

While it may be too early to write off bipolarity, every indication points to the formation of a multipolar world and a reshuffling of alinements. The Indo-Pakistani war has split what remained of Socialist solidarity. New Dehli will have to pay the price, however, for its friendship treaty with Moscow, and a sure consequence is Soviet naval expansion into the Indian Ocean as part of Moscow's encirclement of China. The suddenness of the Sino-American rapprochement shocked Washington's allies and severely strained ties with Japan. It is important that good relations with Tokyo be restored. With the reduction of the American commitment in Asia, Washington depends on Japan to serve as an American forward outpost. To protect its western flank in the expected confrontation with China, the Soviet Union has sought détente in Europe, negotiating with the West Germans much to the displeasure of the Communist East German regime. In the United Nations, too, unusual alinements are occasionally cropping up. The contours of a new and complicated power constellation are beginning to take form.

1560
Chatterjee, Partha. THE CLASSICAL BALANCE OF POWER THEORY. Journal of peace research, no. 1, 1972: 51-61. illus. AS9.J6, 1972
"This paper was written under a Woodrow Wilson Dissertation Fellowship."

Attempts to formulate an axiomatic model of the classical balance of power system using the fundamental notion that a stable balance of power implies the absence of a predominant actor or coalition. It is shown that the basic motivation for participating in such a system is security in a world where each nation fears the prospect of being on the losing side. Under conditions of perfect information, such a system will only be stable when exact equality of power can be maintained, if necessary by suitable alinements with previously neutral nations. Under conditions of uncertainty, the desirable goal would be stable deterrence which may imply an attempt to gain power superior to one's opponent. In both situations, a stable equilibrium may be attained only under fairly restricted conditions. The most successful operation would be similar to the "holder

of the balance" case. A "multipolar" system is more likely to be stable. (Abstract supplied, modified)

1561
Cheney, John, Thomas Harford, and Leonard Solomon. THE EFFECTS OF COMMUNICATING THREATS AND PROMISES UPON THE BARGAINING PROCESS. Journal of conflict resolution, v. 16, Mar. 1972: [99]-107. illus.
JX1901.J6, v. 16

"This report is based in part upon a doctoral dissertation submitted by the first author to the graduate faculty of Boston University."

This study sought to examine the effects of communicating threats and promises upon cooperation in a modified version of the Deutsch and Krauss two-person trucking game. *Ss* could communicate promises or threats as differentiated from implementing rewards or punishment. The subject sample consisted of 160 female college students. Eighty dyads were formed and randomly assigned to one of the four experimental conditions: a) Positive Options Only, b) Negative Options Only, c) All Options Available, and d) No Communication (control). The results indicated that the highest levels of cooperation were achieved under All Options condition, then Positive Only, then Negative Only and were lowest for the No Communication condition. The frequency of message transmission was highest under the All Options condition and lowest for Negative Options Only. Players in the All Options condition used promises five times more often than threats. (Abstract supplied)

1562
Dalma, Alfons. [REFLECTIONS ON THE WORLD POLITICAL SITUATION] Betrachtungen zur weltpoltischen Lage. Österreichische militärische Zeitschrift, v. 10, Jan./Feb. 1972: 3-10.
U3.034, v. 10

The decisive factors in the new triangular division of power will be the potentiality of each great power in relation to the other two, the extent of their influence on their own client states, and their success at proselytizing among their rivals' clients. "The Chinese rise to power demonstrates to Europeans that the Soviet-American bipolarity to which they had become accustomed is neither God-ordained nor eternal; moreover, the awareness is gaining ground that the plurality of world power can operate better and more advantageously for world peace when it does not remain limited to three powers." Western Europe sees its political unity and defense integration as being hastened by British entry into the European Economic Community (EEC) and by the new Ostpolitik's removal of other EEC states' fear of implication in a Bonn-directed reunification venture. Dismemberment of the European defense pacts is unrealistic since the Soviets would hold Eastern Europe together even in the absence of the Warsaw Pact. As for mutual and balanced force reductions, military and geographic asymmetry doom in advance any chances of real and equitable reductions. The best that can be hoped for from the proposed European security conference is that the West develop a sense of self-awareness and that the Soviet Union acknowledge Western unity.

1563
Dengerink, H. A. ANXIETY, AGGRESSION, AND PHYSIOLOGICAL AROUSAL. Journal of experimental research in personality, v. 5, Sept. 1971: 223-232. illus.
BF1.J62, v. 5

The effects of assessed anxiety on physical aggression and physiological arousal were studied in a reaction time task under conditions of increasing attack from an "opponent." High anxious *Ss* were found to set less intense shocks for their opponents than low anxious *Ss* when attack was less than maximum. When attack reached the maximum allowed by the procedures no differences were observed. While previous studies have observed higher heart rate (HR) levels and greater HR reactivity for low than for high anxious *Ss*, the opposite was found both in the overall range of HR levels and in the HR responses of these groups to the task instructions. High anxious *Ss* were also observed to have greater overall skin conductance (SC) ranges in this study. Reward for higher shocks increased the intensities set. (Abstract supplied)

1564
Dowty, Alan. FOREIGN-LINKED FACTIONALISM AS A HISTORICAL PATTERN. Journal of conflict resolution, v. 15, Dec. 1971: [429]-442. illus.
JX1901.J6, v. 15

"An earlier version of this paper was delivered at the Eighth World Congress of the International Political Science Association, Munich, August 31-September 5, 1970."

Broadly-based historical comparison is an underutilized means of distinguishing general patterns in international politics, including patterns of linkage between internal and interstate politics. One such linkage pattern--the alliance of internal factions with an external enemy--is examined in dyadic conflicts in the Classic World, 280-150 B.C.; India, 1347-1526; Europe, 1492-1559; and Latin America, 1810-1914. The incidence of such factionalism is highly consistent in the four cases, and is shown to be unrelated to similarity of cultures, contiguity of states, or isolation-fusion, substantive-indirect causation, outcome, or severity of the conflicts. It is however associated with inequality of power, a conclusion strengthened by observation of the historical cases. The influence of basic strategic constants, rather than systemic structure of historical variables such as ideology or technology, appears to be dominant. Analysis of foreign-linked factionalism in the language of proffered framework for the study of linkage (especially Hanrieder) also leads to the suggestion that a for-

eign policy-making model such as that of Brecher, Steinberg, and Stein might be more useful for studying such phenomena. (Abstract supplied)

1565
Druckman, Daniel. THE INFLUENCE OF THE SITUATION IN INTERPARTY CONFLICT. Journal of conflict resolution, v. 15, Dec. 1971: [523]-554. illus.
JX1901.J6, v. 15

The failure in general of predicting behavior in dyadic conflict situations from subject variables leads to a consideration of the effects of situational variations. This review focuses on recent experimental studies (approximately 1965-1970) in which situational variables were shown to relate to conflict behavior. The discussion is organized in terms of several broad conceptualizations of the situation: as an enhancing or moderating influence on the effects of subject variables; as an influence on subjective definitions of the situation which in turn affect observed behavior; as factors that have been broken down analytically into components that account for more or less variance in conflict behavior; and as manipulatable sources of conflict. Several issues are shown to derive from a review of the progress to date with respect to identifying the important aspects of such variables as prior experience, communication opportunity, opponent's strategy, and role. A research strategy that consists of assessing the relative contribution of these components of variance is recommended. The review concludes with a brief discussion of the generality of situational effects obtained in laboratory studies. (Abstract supplied)

1566
Eron, Leonard D., and others. DOES TELEVISION VIOLENCE CAUSE AGGRESSION? American psychologist, v. 27, Apr. 1972: 253-263. illus.
BF1.A55, v. 27

Reports the results of a test of the hypotheses that "a young adult's aggressiveness is positively related to his preference for violent television when he was 8-9 years old and, furthermore, that his preference for violent television during this critical period is one cause of his aggressiveness." A positive correlation and probable causative link between a childhood preference for television violence and adult aggressiveness were established. However, other variables were involved in addition to television. This research was based on data from a large-scale survey of aggressive behavior in 8-9 year old third-graders and a 10-year followup study.

1567
Farrar, L. L. THE LIMITS OF CHOICE: JULY 1914 RECONSIDERED. Journal of conflict resolution, v. 16, Mar. 1972: [11]-23. illus.
JX1901.J6, v. 16

The debate over the 1914 crisis can be comprehended only by isolating the conflicting interpretations. Since few scholars offered the interpretation of limited choice, this study seeks to fill a gap by arguing that the statesmen of 1914 had little alternative to war. The crisis is perceived in terms of two stages determined by the statesmen's decisions. The first, Austro-Serbian stage (from 28 June to 22 July), was characterized by governmental discussions in response to the assassination of the Archduke Ferdinand on 28 June. The second, European stage (from 23 July to 4 August), was characterized by the public confrontation of the powers in response to the Austro-Hungarian ultimatum to Serbia on 23 July. It is argued that the outcome of the crisis was largely determined by decisions taken during the first stage. This interpretation combines elements of decision-making and systems analysis. The crisis is perceived as a process of choices affected less by events during the crisis (as in situation analysis) than by the statesmen's assumptions about the great power system (as in system analysis).

1568
Fisher, Ronald J. THIRD PARTY CONSULTATION: A METHOD FOR THE STUDY AND RESOLUTION OF CONFLICT. Journal of conflict resolution, v. 16, Mar. 1972: [67]-94. illus. JX1901.J6, v. 16

Third party consultation is a general method for the study and resolution of social conflict. Several examples are reviewed and a descriptive model is developed. The method centers on the facilitative and diagnostic actions of an impartial social science consultant in helping antagonists analyze and constructively deal with the negative aspects of their conflict. The basic situation involves a small group of consultants and participants in flexible and informal discussions in a neutral setting. This particular third party role requires a certain identity. To reach the objectives, the consultant undertakes the functions of inducing mutual positive motivation, improving communication, diagnosing the conflict, and regulating the interaction. The functions are carried out through specific tactics and procedures, and all of these aspects are combined with supportive activities to yield an overall program of consultation. Some assumptions are considered, and some directions for future research to assess limitations and to develop the method's full potential are specified. (Abstract supplied)

1569
Galtung, Johan. EUROPE: BIPOLAR, BICENTRIC OR COOPERATIVE? Journal of peace research, no. 1, 1972: 1-26. illus.
AS9.J6, 1972

"This paper is based on presentations given at a number of conferences during the last years. . . "

The theory of peace developed in Johan Galtung's Cooperation in Europe (cited as item no. 1487 in vol. 8, no. 3 of this bibliography) is used to

evaluate the present state and future prospects of East-West relations in Europe. The major argument is that peace has a structure, and that structure has not yet been built between East and West in Europe. The Warsaw and Moscow treaties as well as the Berlin and intra-German negotiations are important in clearing up after World War II and in affirming the European territorial status quo, but they do not by themselves contribute to a peace structure. Negotiations about arms control only help perfect the balance of power, and the disarmament negotiations have so far been a failure and will continue to be so unless the present structure of nonpeace is transformed. Although the trade between East and West is increasing it is still inequitable in the types of goods being moved in either direction. Moreover, with the rapid integration and expansion of the European Communities, an integration race has set in . . . [with] the danger that this race will make all-European co-operation too weak to have sufficient peacebuilding effect. There are still many possibilities to be explored for increased and more meaningful East-West cooperation. East and West should try to come together in efforts to discuss the future of European societies and the future of active peaceful co-existence. (Abstract supplied, modified)

1570
Goldmann, Kjell. BIPOLARIZATION AND TENSION IN INTERNATIONAL SYSTEMS: A THEORETICAL DISCUSSION. Cooperation and conflict, no. 1, 1972: 37-63. illus. DL55.C66, 1972

This is an interim report of a research project in which an attempt is made to measure the variations in East-West "tension" in Europe after 1945 and to explain the variations by reference to, *inter alia*, variations in "global bipolarization". The author presents tentative theoretical definitions of these key concepts; he also discusses and illustrates how they can be made operational. Against the background of earlier theoretical literature about bipolarity *vs.* multipolarity and polarization *vs.* depolarization in the international system, he then presents a number of hypotheses about the way in which variations in the degree of bipolarization may affect tension in international systems. He finds that there are good theoretical arguments in favour of the opinion that bipolarization tends to increase tension, but also good arguments in favour of the contrary idea, and he concludes by pointing out that the issue can only be settled by way of systematic empirical investigation. (Abstract supplied, modified)

1571
THE GREAT POWERS AND ASIA. Pakistan horizon, v. 24, 4th quarter, 1971: 3-79. illus. DS376.P32, v. 24

Contents.--The role of power in international politics, by Khalid Ahmed and Tariq Fatmi.--Strategic balance in South and Southeast Asia, by Khurshid Hyder.--The Afro-Asian ocean, by Rashida Poonawala.--The new American attitude towards China, by Mehrunnisa Ali.--USSR and Indian action in East Pakistan, by Zubeida Mustafa.--Note: China's representation in the United Nations, by Khurshid Hyder.

Presents aspects of U.S., Soviet, and Chinese policies in Asia. Ahmed and Fatmi examine the interaction of economic and military power in international relations. Hyder calls the situation in Asia "hideously complicated and very fluid" as the nations of the region and the interested powers realine their policies and presences. Poonawala argues that the Indian Ocean should in reality be called the Afro-Asian Ocean, and the security interests of the bordering states can best be served by the exclusion of great-power rivalry. Ali predicts that normalization of Sino-American relations will result in a power readjustment in Asia and the world, with the United States, the Soviet Union, and China forming a triangular balance. Mustafa explores the Soviet Union's role in the 1971 Indo-Pakistani war and its interests in the subcontinent. Hyder believes that Communist China's entry into the United Nations means new hope for that organization and the beginning of China's contribution to world order.

1572
[THE GREAT TRIANGLE. WASHINGTON, MOSCOW, PEKING] Das grosse Dreieck. Washington, Moskau, Peking. Hrsg. von Winfried Böttcher, Alexander Steininger [und] Günther Unser. Beitr. von Joachim Schwelien [u.a.] (Zum 65. Geburtstag von Klaus Mehnert.) Stuttgart, Deutsche Verlags-Anst. [1971] 208 p. D843.G774

Contents.--America in transition, by Joachim Schwelien.--Moscow between Washington and Peking, by Ernst Kux.--China on the way to a third world power: domestic political aspects of the emancipation from Moscow, by Joachim Glaubitz.--Japan, China and the triangle, by Tadao Ishikawa.--Moscow, Peking and Africa, by Giselher Wirsing.--Europe between the U.S. and the U.S.S.R., by Gerhard Wettig.--Europe and the triangle--yesterday, today, tomorrow, by Hugh Seton-Watson.--View from the corners, by Klaus Mehnert.--Bibliography 1926-1971: Klaus Mehnert on the Soviet Union, China and America.

Explores the developing power triangle and its impact on the three principals themselves, their respective constituencies, and the nonalined world. Schwelien, Kux, and Glaubitz examine the United States, the Soviet Union, and Communist China respectively in terms of their current and immediately forseeable relations with one another and their own domestic problems. Ishikawa, Wirsing, Wettig, and Seton-Watson discuss the effects of the new power constellation on other world centers: Japan, Africa, and Europe. Wettig and Seton-Watson center on the extent to which Eastern and Western Europe are dependent on the superpowers. Mehnert examines how each of the three su-

perpowers view one another, concluding that "America today is in the tactically favorable position of having to deal with two partners who are on bitter terms with one another." Mehnert's bibliography, chronologically arranged beginning in 1926, contains references he has consulted on subjects treated in this volume.

1573
Howard, Michael. REALISTS AND ROMANTICS. Encounter, v. 38, Apr. 1972: 34-39.
AP4.E44, v. 38

Since 1945 a functioning system of international political relationships has been evolving. At its core is the conflict of the superpowers, each deterring the other from massive overt violence. Since total war was ruled out by the certainty of mutual destruction, a new form of controlled confrontation was needed and found in the crisis. After the Americans and Soviets finished "flexing their nuclear muscles at one another over Berlin and Cuba," they settled down "side by side in a kind of grumbling tranquillity." Thus a status quo developed that is more stable than earlier nuclear critics would have predicted. Young revolutionaries point out that the system is oppressive, politically expedient, and unjust, and so should be smashed and torn down. Older heads acknowledge that there is much truth in the charge, but assert that injustice is better reversed within a framework of power and order than if anarchy is achieved.

1574
INTERNATIONAL NEGOTIATION: THE GREAT POWER TRIANGLE; SELECTED COMMENT. Washington, U.S. Govt. Print. Off., 1971. 34 p.
E183.8.R9I53

At head of title: 92d Congress, 1st session. Committee print.
"Compiled by the Subcommittee on National Security and International Operations (pursuant to S. Res. 31, 92d Cong.) of the Committee on Government Operations, United States Senate."

Partial contents.--Foreword.--The great power triangle: Washington--Moscow--Peking, by Michel Tatu.--The global triangle--upsetting the balance of terror, by G. F. Hudson.--The new triangle, by Zbigniew Brzezinski.--American-Soviet-Chinese relations: some reflections, by Adam B. Ulam.

Selected readings on the emerging and increasingly important significance to international negotiations of the triangular relationship between the United States, the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of China. The focus is on the effects of collusion between any two against the third.

1575
INTERVENTION IN INTERNATIONAL POLITICS; TEXTS OF THE LECTURES DELIVERED AT THE CONFERENCE ORGANISED BY THE NETHERLANDS INSTITUTE OF INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS ON THE OCCASION OF ITS 25TH ANNIVERSARY ON 19 AND 20 NOVEMBER 1970. Edited by Louis G. Jaquet. The Hague, Netherlands Institute of International Affairs, 1971. 124 p.
JX4481.I55

Previously published in English or Dutch in the Internationale spectator.
Includes bibliographical references.

Contents.--Introduction, by Louis G.M. Jaquet. --Speech of His Royal Highness Prince Claus of the Netherlands.--A word about ourselves, by Daniel J. von Balluseck.--Intervention: the historical development I, by Kenneth G. Younger.--Intervention: the historical development II, by Urs Schwarz.--Intervention and international law I, by Wolfgang Friedmann.--Intervention and international law II, by Maarten Bos.--The political aspects of intervention in present day international politics I, by Karl Kaiser.--The political aspects of intervention in present day international politics II, by François Duchêne.--The political aspects of the intervention problem in the Netherlands, by Max van der Stoel.--Intervention and Dutch foreign policy, report of a forum-discussion, by Jacques H. M. de Winter.

Lectures on intervention--its history, status in international law, political role, and place in the foreign policy of the Netherlands--presented to a conference marking the 25th anniversary of the Netherlands Institute of International Affairs. Various views on the subject were presented, but all participants seemed to agree that in this transitional period in international relations, the concept of intervention is changing, with the result that "international law regarded as a code or system for the control of intervention by governments is in a state of total disarray." Duchêne suggests that the problem is not to prevent intervention, an impossible task anyway, but to transform it from an exploitive and military or quasimilitary relationship into a civil process involving joint decisionmaking.

1576
Kaplowitz, Stan A. THE EFFECTS OF PUNISHMENT, POWER AND CREDIBILITY ON THE COMPLIANCE OF THREAT TARGETS. Ann Arbor, University Microfilms, 1972. 186 p. Micro (Order no. 72-14,908)
Abstract in Dissertation Abstracts, v. 32, May 1972: 6537A-6538A. Z5055.U5A53, v. 32
Dissertation (Ph.D) "completed under the Dissertation Support Program funded by the U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency and administered by the National Academy of Sciences."

Social psychology study designed to measure "the effect of power and credibility on compliance to threats." The credibility of the threat source was defined by the cost necessary to carry out a threat with high cost defining low credibility and the willingness to accept losses in order to force compliance defining high credibility. Kaplowitz assumed that subjects ascribing low credibility to

the threat would be less compliant than those faced with a highly credible threat source. The theory was not confirmed. Subjects did not act merely to maximize their own outcome but followed some norms of equity, apparently dealing with the threat source as with "someone who is violating the norms defining fair and reasonable behavior."

1577
Knott, Paul D., and Bruce A. Drost. EFFECTS OF VARYING INTENSITY OF ATTACK AND FEAR AROUSAL ON THE INTENSITY OF COUNTER AGGRESSION. Journal of personality, v. 40, Mar. 1972: 27-37. illus.
BF1.J66, v. 40

"This research was supported in part by Grant MH 17624-01 from the National Institute of Mental Health to the senior author."

In a 3×2 factorial design, different subjects were administered a small, medium, or large number of painful shocks and were then allowed to counter aggress by administering painful shocks to the aggressor. On a second block of trials the ordering of attack--aggressor first and victim last--was maintained for half the subjects in each condition but reversed for the other half. Fear arousal was strongly elicited in the latter subjects in part because the aggressor now had the last chance to shock them. However, a linear relationship between attack and counterattack was obtained even for the latter subjects. It was inferred from these and related data that (a) as a general rule, the strategy of increasing the intensity of one's own attack is likely to result in an increase rather than a decrease in the intensity of the opponent's counterattack, and (b) because of ethical constraints it may not be possible to determine within the context of laboratory research if, when or where a curvilinear relationship exists between intensity of attack and counterattack. (Abstract supplied)

1578
Kogon, Eugen. [OUR REPUBLIC IN THE NEW CONSTELLATION OF POWERS] Unsere Republik in der neuen Konstellation der Mächte. Frankfurter Hefte; Zeitschrift für Kultur und Politik, v. 27, Jan. 1972: 9-14. AP30.F555, v. 27

The admission of Communist China into the United Nations and preparations for the entry of Great Britain into an enlarged Common Market underscore a developing political polycentrism and the end of the unchallenged primacy of the United States and the Soviet Union. After its evolution not to the hoped European government but to a kind of European symbiosis, the continent will emerge as a powerful political and economic region. Although Washington has lately regarded this development as a threat, Moscow has sought to turn it to advantage by responding to West German détente initiative. The Soviets want a stable Europe and technological collaboration with its western states. West Germany's special contribution to Europe's entry into the constellation of powers was its initiatives to the East and efforts to allay the fears of its allies, as well as its economic strength.

1579
Laqueur, Walter. THE FALL OF EUROPE? Commentary, v. 53, Jan. 1972: 33-40.
DS101.C63, v. 53

"Never in its history has Europe suffered from so large and perceptible a discrepancy between economic strength on the one hand, and political and military impotence on the other." The most compelling argument for British entry into the Common Market is political, for European unity is the only way to surmount the political and economic weaknesses of the individual countries concerned. West Germany's Ostpolitik offers some promise and many dangers, for the Brandt Government misunderstands the Soviet Union's basic European policy of hegemony. The old Soviet proposal for a European Security Conference has begun to make headway in Europe, but the Russians may really be interested only in the "talks about talks" and not the conference itself. An optimistic outlook must presuppose either a continued American military presence or a strong European defense community, both doubtful or nonexistent. Accommodation with the Soviet Union, the only other alternative, will lead to the growth of Soviet power and eventual Finlandization. However, a European defense community, perhaps with an Anglo-French nuclear deterrent, is still possible.

1580
Laqueur, Walter. A REFLECTION ON VIOLENCE. Encounter, v. 38, Apr. 1972: 3-10.
AP4.E44, v. 38

Comments on the recent upsurge of violence and terrorist acts, and explores explanations offered by historians and sociologists. Laqueur finds many theories of civil strife but no key answers or easy explanations. He observes an inverse relationship between urban terror and strength of government. "Political régimes fall, not because they are wicked, but because they are ineffective." A non-alarmist, Laqueur suggests that while violence may be a symptom of social malaise, the condition is not necessarily fatal.

1581
Lazar, Arpad von, and Vi A. Beadle. NATIONAL INTEGRATION AND INSURGENCY IN VENEZUELA: AN EXERCISE IN CAUSATION. Western political quarterly, v. 24, Mar. 1971: 136-145. illus.
JA1.W4, v. 24

Offers a test case of the theory that insurgency is a manifestation or consequence of a lack of national integration. Venezuela was chosen because

the chronic insurgency experienced by that country is not explicable in terms of the theory that insurgency is a result of low socioeconomic development. Venezuela is one of the most advanced of the Third World countries in those categories; however, it does rate low in national integration. Results of the study "indicate a definite relationship between lack of integration and insurgency but also indicate that there are other variables to be considered, including strategic and socioeconomic factors only peripherally related to the problem of national integration."

1582
London. Institute for Strategic Studies. CIVIL VIOLENCE AND THE INTERNATIONAL SYSTEM. London, 1971. 2 v. (Its Adelphi papers, nos. 82/83)
U162.A3, nos. 82/83

Contents.--v. 1. The scope of civil violence: Introduction, by François Duchêne. Diversities of violence and the current world system, by Walter Laqueur. The contemporary case for violence, by Ali A. Mazrui.--v. 2. Violence and international security: Civil violence and the process of development, by Samuel P. Huntington. Civil violence and the pattern of international power, by Pierre Hassner. Civil violence and international order, by Hedley Bull.

Papers presented to the Thirteenth Annual Conference of the International Institute for Strategic Studies, which met at Stresa, Italy, Sept. 10-12, 1971, on the theme of the interaction between civil violence and other changes in domestic and international politics, with special stress on the implications of the spread of civil violence for international security. For purposes of the Conference, civil violence was taken to mean any act of private political violence committed for the purpose of influencing or overthrowing an existing government. Choice of this theme was prompted by the widespread resurgence of this type of violence in the West in the 1960's.

1583
Lupsha, Peter A. EXPLANATION OF POLITICAL VIOLENCE: SOME PSYCHOLOGICAL THEORIES VERSUS INDIGNATION. Politics and society, v. 2, fall 1971: 89-104. illus.
H1.P83, v. 2

The theories of rising expectations, frustration-aggression and relative deprivation, which are the most popular current psychological explanations for political violence, are severely limited and need to be placed in proper perspective. A different explanation of political violence still rooted in psychological variables can be based on the concept of righteous or moral indignation. The present psychological interpretations of political violence work backwards from acts of political violence to infer prior psychological frustrations. Studies have shown, however, that frustration does not necessarily lead to aggression which may in fact occur without prior frustration. A more adequate interpretation of political violence links psychological and political theory and sees the cause of political violence in the righteous indignation resulting from unjust treatment. Indignation involves morals and thus the cultural-philosophical standards of society. Political violence may well result more from indignation over governmental acts which violate the norms of the people than from frustration from rising expectations or relative deprivation.

1584
MEDIUM-SIZED AND SMALL NATIONS UNITE TO OPPOSE TWO SUPERPOWERS' HEGEMONY. Peking review, v. 15, Jan. 28, 1972: 14-16.
DS701.P42, v. 15

An irresistable, historical, international trend is emerging in which "an increasing number of medium-sized and small countries are uniting in various ways into a broad united front to oppose hegemony and power politics by the two superpowers, to safeguard national independence and state sovereignty and to fight for equality in international relations." U.S. imperialism and its lackeys have encountered fierce resistance from the Indochinese, Arab, and African peoples. The overwhelming majority of states in the United Nations sharply rebuked Soviet social imperialism for its support of reactionary Indian aggression against the Pakistani people. Many small and medium-sized states have extended their territorial waters or fishing limits in defiance of Soviet-American collusion. Opposition is mounting to the superpower grab for control of the Mediterranean Sea and Indian Ocean. Exporters of raw materials are moving to wrest control of their natural resources from imperialist exploitation. The American so-called "new economic policy" is universally opposed. The superpower monopoly of international affairs was dealt sharp blows by the restoration of China's legitimate rights in the United Nations and by the General Assembly's rejection of the fraudulent Soviet proposal for a world disarmament conference. Superpower ability to manipulate the United Nations is weakening. The small and medium-sized countries are assuming their rightful historical role in opposition to the bullying superpowers, which are destined for decline and ignominious defeat.

1585
Nagorski, Zygmunt. EUROPE IN FLUX. Review of international affairs, v. 22, Dec. 5, 1971: 24-26.
D839.R4, v. 22

As the era of American involvement in Western Europe ends, what new pattern of relationships will emerge in Europe? Both East and West Europe desire security and expanded trade relations while the United States and the Soviet Union want to be increasingly less involved in Europe's fate. France, the first to enter the era of change,

prides itself as being the architect of the new Europe, and is ready to assume a new European role. West Germany, on the other hand, has not yet become a part of the European transformation. Psychologically the Germans find it easier to belong to a continent than to a divided state, but politically they have little enthusiasm for Ostpolitik because it would demand too much economic and social change on the part of Eastern Europe. Germany is also worried over the possible American disengagement from Europe and the loss of the assurance its presence gives to continued German prosperity. Will Europe be an American ally, competitor or troublesome partner? "Will the affluent, self-satisfied Europe . . . be capable of meeting new challenges of responding to them with her own brand of dynamism?"

1586
Nobel Symposium, 17th, Oslo, 1970. SMALL STATES IN INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS. Edited by August Schou and Arne O. Brundtland. New York, Wiley Interscience Division [c1971] 250 p.
JX1395.N6 1970b
Includes bibliographical references.

Contents.--Opening address, by August Schou.--The conception of small states, by Hilding Eek.--The analysis of small power politics, by David Vital.--The small state in international politics, by Erling Bjøl.--The external relations of small states, by Ronald P. Barston.--The role of a small state within alliance systems, by L. G. M. Jacquet.--The political aims and experiences of the small Socialist states, by László Réczei.--The role and responsibility of the small and medium-sized countries in maintaining international peace, by Ion Nicolae.--Some reflection on permanent neutrality, by Gerald Stourzh.--Small states and the policy of non-alignment, by Radovan Vukadinović.--Small states in international organizations, by Sean F. Lemass.--The role of the Nordic states in the U.N., by Gunnar G. Schram.--The Nordic countries as an area of peace, by Arne Olav Brundtland.--The place of African states in international relations, by John J. Okumu.--The twenty and the one: Latin American relations and the United States, by Annette Baker Fox.--Developing nations--a Mexican point of view, by Porfirio Muñoz Ledo.--How the small countries can contribute to peace, by Jacques Freymond.--Small powers in a nuclear world, by Johan J. Holst.--Summary of discussion, by Arne Olav Brundtland.

Papers and proceedings of a symposium devoted to the role and position of lesser states in the context of international interaction. Many participants suggest contributions small states can make toward the relaxation of international tension and the advancement of world peace and world order.

1587
Osterberg, David, and Fouad Ajami. THE MULTINATIONAL CORPORATION: EXPANDING THE FRONTIERS OF WORLD POLITICS. Journal of conflict resolution, v. 15, Dec. 1971: [457]-470. illus.
JX1901.J6, v. 15

This essay argues that a full understanding of world politics must go well beyond the traditional analyses of nation-states and their cognate institutions. Specifically, the authors assert that multinational corporations are important actors in world affairs. This is so, in the first place, due to the immediately political acts they commit in conjunction with and/or against nation-states. Second it is argued that actors involved in establishing normative codes for society are at the same time committing significant political acts. Not only should multinational corporations be included in the analysis of world politics by virtue of the immediately significant political acts they engage in, but also because of their role as one of the leading architects and disseminators of world culture. The authors call for systematic study of the political and normative dimensions of multinational activity. This, they argue, is urgently needed at present inasmuch as the multinational corporation is among the most important political actors today, and yet probably the least accountable to any of the constituencies upon which it has significant effects. (Abstract supplied)

1588
Overstreet, R. E. SOCIAL EXCHANGE IN A THREE-PERSON GAME. Journal of conflict resolution, v. 16, Mar. 1972: [109]-123. illus.
JX1901.J6, v. 16
"This article is based on a doctoral dissertation written at Purdue University."

Social exchange theory makes several predictions regarding changes in group membership and contributions of members to the group. These predictions are translated into testable hypotheses about bargaining behavior and coalition stability in a ten-trial, three-person game. Multiple linear regression is used simultaneously to test the bargaining hypothesis and to measure the social prices implicit in the exchange. Measures of equity are shown to relate to coalition stability. Evidence is presented that different prices are used by subjects to determine bargaining positions and coalition membership, and several explanations for this phenomenon are explored. Exchange relationships in the game are also shown to affect coalition preference in a one-trial postexperimental game. (Abstract supplied)

1589
Phillips, Warren R. THE DYNAMICS OF BEHAVIORAL ACTION AND REACTION IN INTERNATIONAL CONFLICT. In Peace Research Society. Papers, v. 17, 1971: 31-46. illus. (The Philadelphia Conference, 1970)
JX1930.P4A3, 1971

Investigates by reference to conflict variables the conflict patterns of states, specifically the relationships of cross-national conflict behavior

sent from the states to the international environment and received by them from it. "The characterization of these patterns is constant for over time as well as cross sectional forms of analysis," although conflict interactions highly interrelated in cross-sectional analysis do not seem to be correspondingly related in over time analyses. According to Phillips, an analysis of 23 conflict variables has outlined five patterns of conflict behavior, albeit states "tend not to respond to conflict in the simple ways suggested in this analysis and the search for explanations of monthly conflict exchanges should take other directions."

1590
Rand Corporation. PUBLICATIONS OF THE SOCIAL SCIENCE DEPARTMENT, 1963-1970. Compiled by Doris Corbin. Santa Monica, Calif., 1971. 65 p. (Rand Corporation. [Rand report] R-705)
AS36.R3 R-705

Contents.--Preface.--Where to obtain Rand publications.--Rand subscription libraries.--Serial list.--Subject index.--Author index.--Abstracts.--Rand books in the social sciences.

Lists and annotates 377 published writings of 111 members of the Rand Corporation's Social Science Department. Much of the material is concerned with country and area studies, and national security, defense, arms control and disarmament, and foreign policy.

1591
Rapoport, Jacques, Ernest Muteba, and Joseph J. Therattil. SMALL STATES & TERRITORIES: STATUS AND PROBLEMS. Contributions from the Division of Public Administration, United Nations and Charles L. Taylor. New York, Arno Press, 1971. 216 p.
JC365.R35

At head of title: United Nations Institute for Training and Research.
"A UNITAR study."
Includes bibliographical references.

Contents.--Preface.--Introduction and background.--pt. 1. General considerations.--pt. 2. Status, problems and difficulties of small states and territories.--pt. 3. Action which the United Nations might consider in favour of very small states and territories.--Annex.

Examines the problems of small states and territories in international affairs and the United Nations organizations from the viewpoint of both the small states and the international organizations. The history, rights, and reasons for the existence of small states are discussed as well as their political status, military and security arrangements, and the practical problems of their administration and viability. The conclusion suggests international actions such as security guarantees and economic aid which the United Nations could take to assist the small states.

1592
Rosen, Steven. TOLERANCE OF HUMAN LIFE COSTS FOR FOREIGN POLICY GOALS. In Peace Research Society. Papers, v. 17, 1971: 61-73. illus. (The Philadelphia Conference, 1970)
JX1930.P4A3, 1971

Argues that a better knowledge of cost-tolerance limits may reduce the incidence of miscalculations leading to war. "In every war a crucial question is the estimation of the opponent's willingness to suffer." The United States, Rosen claims, embarked on the Vietnam war on the assumption that the enemy would not be able to endure the costs imposed upon him. The U.S. interventions in Korea and Cuba were similarly based on false appraisals of the costs tolerable to the other side. Rosen calls for more research in cost-tolerance for war and foreign-policy goals.

1593
Saaty, Thomas L. MATHEMATICAL STRUCTURES APPLICABLE TO MULTI-PARTY CONFLICTS. In Peace Research Society. Papers, v. 17, 1971: 7-30. illus. (The Philadelphia Conference, 1970)
JX1930.P4A3, 1971

Seeks a new framework for conflict analysis through discussion of group behavior problems as conflict-cooperation problems, four types of mathematical models in conflict analysis, and the analysis of fixed points and equilibria. Saaty concludes that "a careful look at the foundation of existence theory for equilibria may suggest that an ordinal approach such as that achieved by using Nash equilibria in recent applications of Game Theory is the most hopeful, sure-footed way to proceed," proposing that "a dialogue of scientists and mathematicians interested in conflict research be established on a continuing basis to study the concepts underlying our existing models to behavioral problems."

1594
Schack, Alard von. [AFRICA AND THE "NEW PENTARCHY"] Afrika und die "Neue Pentarchie." Internationales Afrika Forum, v. 8, Feb. 1972: 129-132.
N&CPR

Sees the emergence of a five-power configuration made up of the United States, the Soviet Union, China, Japan, and Western Europe as the guarantor of peace, with each power's area of influence the Third World region to its immediate south and the United States as the strongest power acting as the balancer (see item no. 1065 in v. 8, no. 3 of this bibliography). Schack tests this theory by the relationship between Africa and Western Europe and concludes that Western Europe will retain its influence over Black Africa and probably Saharan Africa, Communist and American endeavors notwithstanding,

1595
Schmidt-Mummendey, Amélie. [AGGRESSIVE BEHAVIOR. NEW RESULTS OF PSYCHOLOGICAL RESEARCH] Aggressives Verhalten. Neue Ergebnisse der psychologischen Forschung. [Hrsg.:] Amélie Schmidt-Mummendey [und] Hans Dieter Schmidt. München, Juventa-Verlag, 1971. 256 p.
BF575.A3S34

Contents.--Foreword, by Amélie Schmidt-Mummendey and Hans Dieter Schmidt.--Concepts and explanations of aggressive behavior, by Amélie Schmidt-Mummendey.--Experimental bases of a physiological model of aggressive behavior, by Kenneth E. Moyer.--Must aggressions be lived out to the full? by Hanns-Dietrich Dann.--Attempt to evaluate the frustration-aggression hypothesis, by Hans Werbik.--The acquisition of aggressive behavior traits through social learning, by Albert Bandura and Richard H. Walters.--Weapons as aggression-eliciting stimuli, by Leonard Berkowitz and Anthony LePage.--The sowing of violence: gleanings, by Jochen Eckert, Hans-Joachim Schwartz, and Reiner Bastine.--The potential for violence in Germany, by David M. Mantell.--Differential conditions of aggressive behavior, by Amélie Schmidt-Mummendey.--Possibilities for the diagnosis of aggressive behavior, by Heike Keil-Specht and Susanne Denzer.--Aggression control with methods of behavior therapy, by Harald E. Euler.--On the problem of psychological efforts to analyze international conflicts, by Hans Dieter Schmidt.--Index.

1596
Smith, Don D. AN AMERICAN ELITE'S KNOWLEDGE ABOUT THE SOVIET UNION. World affairs, v. 134, spring 1972: 344-351. JX1901.W7, v. 134

Enumerates the results of American exposure to information about the Soviet Union since World War II by sampling a representative cross-section of college students. Smith believes that the results can be used to project the future relations between the two states by assessing the knowledgeability of potential American leaders. He characterizes American knowledge about the Soviet Union as "modest at best" and "markedly limited." A striking finding was the sheer uniformity of the elite's knowledge; information on the Soviet Union is possessed either by very many or by very few. It is particularly disturbing that although half of the participants state that formal school courses were their primary source of knowledge about the Soviet Union, there were few differences in knowledge between sophomores and seniors and that education majors are considerably less knowledgeable about the Soviet Union than students majoring in other subjects. The results point out the need to educate Americans in international affairs consciously and deliberately.

1597
Spanier, John W. GAMES NATIONS PLAY; ANALYZING INTERNATIONAL POLITICS. New York, Praeger [1972] 457 p. JX1391.S7

Bibliography: p. 431-445.
"Portions of this book originally appeared in a different form in John Spanier's World Politics in an Age of Revolution."
JX1395.S63

Contents.--Preface.--pt. 1. Analytical approaches to the study of international politics: Making sense of international politics. The three levels of analysis.--pt. 2. The state system: The state system as an analytical mode. The changing state system: from bipolarity to bipolycentrism. Power, coercion, and the deterrent balance. Power, force, and confrontation politics. Alliances and nonalignment. The state system: to be or not to be.--pt. 3. National systems and decision-making: Domestic structures and international order. The Soviet Union: the socialization of a revolutionary state. American foreign policy: the socialization of an isolationist power. The less developed countries: the primacy of domestic concerns. Modernization, perception, and the prospects for peace.--A selective bibliography.--Index.

Text on international politics employing "three levels of analysis: the state system, with its balance-of-power emphasis; the national system, with its domestic priorities; and the decision-making system, with its dependence both on the policy-makers' perceptions of reality and on the institutions that formulate and execute policy."

1598
SUPER POWERS AND WORLD ORDER. Editor: Carsten Holbraad. Canberra, Australian National University Press, 1971. xxi, 161 p.
JX1395.S9

Revised and expanded versions of seven papers originally presented at a series of seminars arranged by the Dept. of International Relations in the Research School of Pacific Studies at the Australian National University in September, October and November 1969, with an introduction and concluding chapter furnished for the published edition.
Includes bibliographical references.

Contents.--Introduction, by Arthur L. Burns.--Condominium and concert, by Carsten Holbraad.--The adverse partnership, by Coral Bell.--The central balance: arms race and arms control, by Ian Bellany.--The Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty and super power condominium, by Thomas B. Millar.--Chinese reactions to tendencies towards condominium, by C. P. FitzGerald.--Super powers and secondary powers: Western Europe and Japan, by J. L. Richardson.--Great power relations and the third world, by Sisir Gupta.--World order and the super powers, by Hedley Bull.--Index.

Examines the effects on and outlook for international relations resulting from cooperative and competitive interaction between the United States and the Soviet Union. The authors tend to accept the idea of a Soviet-American "condominium" of interest in the maintenance of world stability.

1599
Swingle, Paul G., and Brian MacLean. THE EFFECT OF ILLUSORY POWER IN NON-ZERO-SUM GAMES. Journal of conflict resolution, v. 15, Dec. 1971: [513]-522. illus. JX1901.J6, v. 15
"This research was supported by Grant Number 9401-51, Defense Research Board of Canada, to the senior author."

Pairs of male *Ss* played a PD game or a Chicken game under one of three imposed illusory power structures: (a) unilateral illusory power, in which one player could suspend play for 10 percent of the allotted playing time; (b) bilateral illusory power, in which both players had time-out capability; and (c) no illusory power in which neither player had time-out capability. The existence of unilateral illusory power resulted in less cooperation than either of the symmetrical power conditions. The bilateral illusory power conditions resulted in the highest level of cooperation. (Abstract supplied)

1600
Tinker, Jerry M. THE POLITICAL POWER OF NON-VIOLENT RESISTANCE: THE GANDHIAN TECHNIQUE. Western political quarterly, v. 24, Dec. 1971: 775-788. JA1.W4, v. 24

Assesses the efficacy of the Ghandian practice of nonviolence as an instrument of social change. Tinker argues that the ability of nonviolent resistance "to manipulate the political dynamics of society is comparable to the effectiveness of coercive techniques of threats and terror in an insurgency," and, indeed, that "the strategy of nonviolent resistance largely parallels the approach of revolutionary insurgents." He cautions that his analysis applies only to the case of nonviolent resistance within a political system, and not to international politics, where "other, perhaps more complex, variables" are involved. He concludes, nevertheless, that "within the terms of societal conflict, or when used against an outside occupier or colonial power, it is clear that satyagraha has continuing relevance."

1601
Tropper, Richard. THE CONSEQUENCES OF INVESTMENT IN THE PROCESS OF CONFLICT. Journal of conflict resolution, v. 16, Mar. 1972: [97]-98. illus. JX1901.J6, v. 16
"A longer version of this paper was presented at the April 1971 meeting of the Eastern Psychological Association."

Subject dyads were offered opportunities to bid for a series of items. They were told that the bidding would proceed in standard auction format with one exception. Both bidders would be required to pay the amount of their highest bids, although only the winning bidder would receive the item. Subjects bid as high as $1.15 for a felt tipped pen, $3.50 for a dollar bill, and $11.15 for a pocket flashlight. The results were taken as evidence that conflicts of this nature may lead the participants to expend far more in pursuing victory than victory is worth. (Abstract supplied)

1602
Turner, Ralph H. INTEGRATIVE BELIEFS IN GROUP CRISES. Journal of conflict resolution, v. 16, Mar. 1972: [25]-40. illus. JX1901.J6, v. 16
"The author gratefully acknowledges support from the National Institute of Mental Health, grant number USPHS-MH-16505. . . ."

A fatal shooting and bombings during a period of internal turmoil on three southern California college campuses in early 1969 provide opportunities to examine hypotheses that when a disruptive event threatens the continuance of a securely bonded group: (1) Members will rally to assert solidarity and suppress dissent; and (2) Members will favor a conception of the event that diverts attention from its potentially divisive significance. The incidence of divisive items in student papers four weeks before and after the event provides evidence supporting the first hypothesis. A comparison between campus and community newspaper treatments of the event supplies evidence supporting the second hypothesis. Integrative beliefs are those that externalize and particularize the causes of the event, which deny intentionality, and substitute collective responsibility for individual or factional guilt. There is considerable support for the hypotheses, but the evidence is mixed. Possible conditions governing applicability of the hypothesis are discussed. (Abstract supplied)

1603
U.S. Congress. House. Committee on Foreign Affairs. Subcommittee on Europe. THE COLD WAR: ORIGINS AND DEVELOPMENTS. Hearings, Ninety-second Congress, first session. Washington, U.S. Govt. Print. Off., 1971. 231 p. KF27.F642 1971a
Hearings held June 7-18, 1971.
Bibliography: p. 230-231.
Supt. of Docs. no.: Y4.F76/1:C67/3.

Testimony by scholars, Government officials, students, and foreign correspondents concerning the origins of the cold war and the course of European-American and Soviet-American relations during this period. Future problem areas within NATO, between East and West Europe, and those being caused by the growing unification of Europe are stressed.

1604
U.S. Library of Congress. Congressional Research Service. WORLD COMMUNISM, 1964-1969; A SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY, VOL. II. Prepared at the request of the Subcommittee to Investigate the Administration of the Internal Security Act and Other Internal Security Laws of the Committee on the Judiciary, United States Senate. Washington, U.S. Govt.

Print. Off., 1971. xxxii, 420 p. (92d Congress, 1st session) DLC
At head of title: Committee print.

A selected bibliography of nearly 6000 English-language sources on world communism in international relations and in the internal development of the Communist states. The materials listed range from 1964, the date of the conclusion of the preceding volume, through 1969. The list is organized into subject and geographic areas, each of which is subdivided into three major categories, books and pamphlets, periodicals and newspapers, and U.S. Government publications. A bibliography on "U.S. Foreign Policy and International Relations: A Research Guide" is appended.

1605
Vernant, Jacques, and Walter Schütze. [FORECAST AND "EXPERIMENTATION" IN THE STUDY OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS] Prévision et "experimentation" dans l'étude des relations internationales. Politique étrangère, v. 37, no. 2, 1972: 185-196.
JX3.P6, v. 37
A version of this article was presented at a preparatory reunion of the directors of the European Institutes for International Studies at Geneva, March 3-4, 1971.

In 1967, in the sixth issue of Politique Étrangère, there appeared an article entitled "Models of European Security". This article endeavored to describe what the European situation would look like in the short, middle, and long run. However insufficient the overall picture that was sketched for the future, at least it exists. From a perspective of five years, it allows a judgment on the method that was followed. The present article is devoted to forecasting research in the field of international relations. Proceeding to a critical reexamination of the forecasts made in 1967, it establishes that on the whole these prognoses have been justified. It concludes that the institutes involved in the study of international relations should cooperate in studies of this kind. (Translation of supplied abstract)

1606
Vernon, Raymond. MULTINATIONAL ENTERPRISE AND NATIONAL SECURITY. London, Institute for Strategic Studies, 1971. 34 p. (Adelphi papers, no. 74)
U162.A3, no. 74
Includes bibliographical references.

Contents.--Nature of the multinational enterprise.--Place of the multinational enterprise.--Multinationals as national contributors.--Multinationals as national challengers.--Multinationals as Trojan horses.--Multinationals as hostages.--Possibilities for the future.--Tables.

Examines the impact of the growth of international business enterprises on national security policy. "Although multinational enterprises have maintained or extended their position across international boundaries, however, my guess is that their utility and availability as instruments of national security are declining, not increasing," Vernon says. The developed nations are increasingly unable to defend or further the interests of their overseas enterprises, which will in turn protect themselves by adopting more ambiguous national identities. With the distinction between "our" and "their" multinationals blurred, the prospects for international regulation will improve, further weakening the connection of the multinational enterprise to any one nation's security.

1607
Vincent, Jack E., and Edward W. Schwerin. RATIOS OF FORCE AND ESCALATION IN A GAME SITUATION. Journal of conflict resolution, v. 15, Dec. 1971: [489]-511. illus. JX1901.J6, v. 15
"This study was supported by the Political Science Department of Florida Atlantic University."

This experiment was the third in a series of studies focusing on conflict vs. cooperation in a gaming situation. Specifically, it was the outgrowth of the Tindell and Vincent (1970) experiment in which the effects of different ratios of shock on game behavior were investigated. The latter findings seemed to support arguments that balance of power (in terms of shock ratios) fosters less aggression than unbalanced situations. The major purpose of this experiment was to investigate the effects of different ratios of shock on behavior when purchase of shock is allowed. The subjects in the balanced condition escalated more readily and committed more aggressive acts than those in the unbalanced condition. Although the unbalanced condition generated less aggression, more extreme forms of behavior were observed. Subjects with eighteen shocks tended to be more aggressive and those with six shocks in the inequality condition less aggressive than all other subjects. The possible multidimensional character of the game was investigated and found to be in evidence. Variables such as initiated de-escalation, reciprocated de-escalation, cooperation, and shocks were observed to load on separate factor dimensions and exhibit weak correlations with one another. This finding suggests the game be viewed as creating multiple indices of cooperative vs. aggressive behavior. (Abstract supplied)

1608
Waterkamp, Rainer. [CONFLICT RESEARCH AND PEACE PLANNING] Konfliktsforschung und Friedensplanung. Stuttgart, W. Kohlhammer [c1971] 164 p. (Reihe Kohlhammer) JX1963.W32
Bibliography: p. 145-162.

Contents.--pt. 1. Polemology and peace planning: Peace research and planning for the future. The need for planning. Medical futurology and

polemology.--pt. 2. Methods of peace planning: Strategic models in the balance of power systems. The policy of mutual example. Peaceful change and planning developmental aid. Disengagement and crisis management. Security against aggression and surprise attack. Disarmament and arms control.--Bibliography.--Subject index.

Examines models for peace planning as well as the causes and consequences of peace and conflict research. "Only concern with peace and war, wherein still resides the perilous reality of our social system, avoids those dangers present in a utopian approach to peace research without leading in the process to a cynical and uncritical acceptance of militant deterrent systems." Waterkamp seeks to explain how closely peace research and futurology are related. His discussions range from the significance of the military-technical revolution (including the armaments industry) to the problem of poverty in developing states and the coming biological-medical revolution.

1609
Yalem, Ronald J. TRIPOLARITY AND THE INTERNATIONAL SYSTEM. Orbis, v. 15, winter 1972: 1051-1063.
D839.068, v. 15

Proposes a model of a tripolar international system composed of the United States, the Soviet Union, and Communist China. Yalem describes the principal characteristics of this system and analyzes the interactions likely to occur among these powers as well as between them and the various regional subsystems in the international environment. He outlines some of the advantages and disadvantages of the emerging system and advocates institutional or informal procedures for conflict management within it. He contends that the obvious approach to this problem is to extend to China the arms control agreements developed by the Soviet Union and the United States. Yalem concludes that each state must avoid exploiting conflicts between the other two. To do so would potentially destabilize this system.

1610
Yebio, B. MEASURING "WORLD CITIZEN RESPONSIBILITY": A PRELIMINARY TEST BATTERY. Malmö, Sweden, Dept. of Educational and Psychological Research, School of Education, 1970. 42, [2] l. (Bulletin from Dept. of Educational and Psychological Research, School of Education, Malmö, Sweden) (Educational and psychological interactions, no. 34)
LC1090.Y4
Bibliography: leaves 41-42.

A factor-analytic study has been made of a test battery, constructed for the purpose of exploring some aspects of "world citizen responsibility". The battery has been tested on 538 students from grades 4, 6, 8 and 9 of the Swedish comprehensive school. This report includes a description of the tests in the battery, analysis and discussion of the intercorrelations between the tests and the factor structures obtained and a suggestion for a modified test battery. (Abstract supplied)

1611
Young, Oran R. INTERMEDIARIES: ADDITIONAL THOUGHTS ON THIRD PARTIES. Journal of conflict resolution, v. 16, Mar. 1972: [51]-65. illus.
JX1901.J6, v. 16

This essay sets forth the foundations of a theory of mediation applicable to a wide range of situations involving strategic interaction. As such, it constitutes both an amplification and an extension of the author's earlier work on mediation. The essay begins with an examination of the factors that determine whether or not there will be a role for intermediaries in assisting the original players to reach an agreement. Several specific functions for intermediaries are then analyzed. These include: information functions, tactical functions, supervisory functions, and functions relating to reconceptualization. This leads to discussions of the role premise of the intermediary and of the benefits and costs associated with this role. Finally the prospect that intermediaries will become involved in bargaining activities on their own behalf is examined. (Abstract supplied)

FOREIGN POLICIES

1612
AFTER THE MOSCOW SUMMIT. U.S. news & world report, v. 72, June 12, 1972: 68-72. illus.
JK1.U65, v. 72

Contents.--Easing of tension "in the long run," by Klaus Mehnert.--"U.S. emerges with the advantage, " by Michel Tatu.--"The Soviets feel free" to expand, by Malcolm Mackintosh.--China: "Greatest problem" still, by Shintaro Fukushima.

Interviews with West German, French, British, and Japanese experts on Soviet affairs. The subject is the long-range political and military implications of the U.S.-Soviet summit and the various agreements signed there. The impact of the Moscow summit on the strategic balance, on Europe, Communist China, and Japan, on international communism, and on the arms race is discussed. The consensus is that though some very important advances were made--the chance of nuclear war, for example, has been reduced to zero--the underlying realities of international politics remain unchanged.

1613
THE AIM--THE OVERALL DEVELOPMENT OF SOCIETY. Czechoslovak life, Feb. 1972: 6-7.
DB191.C7, 1972
Extracts from the government's policy statement presented on Dec. 17, 1971 by Prime Minister

Lubomír Štrougal to the newly-elected Czechoslovak Federal Assembly.

Outlines the domestic- and foreign-policy objectives of the Czechoslovak Government. In foreign affairs the policy statement terms the recently-concluded Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation, and Mutual Assistance with the Soviet Union to be the decisive factor in Czechoslovakia's efforts to achieve greater unity among the Socialist countries, support the progressive and revolutionary movements, and work for peace. The statement supports the early convocation of a European conference on security and cooperation, normalization of relations with West Germany providing Bonn officially recognizes the invalidity of the Munich Agreement, and international recognition of the German Democratic Republic whose existence constitutes a stabilizing factor in Europe. It also announces continued Czech help to the Vietnamese people against "American aggression," support for Arab attempts to recover territory from Israel, and it advocates a peaceful settlement of the Pakistani problem that respects the rights of the East Pakistani people.

1614
Barker, Elisabeth. BRITAIN IN A DIVIDED EUROPE, 1945-1970. London, Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1971. [6], 316 p. DA47.B37
Bibliography: p. 303-304.

Contents.--pt. 1. Britain's European role after 1945: its frame in place and time: Britain's role in Europe, 1945-1970: missing the bus? Britain in Europe: traditional attitudes. Britain in Europe: the heritage of the second world war.--pt. 2. Britain in Europe: the post-war years, 1945-1950: The British mood and the Soviet challenge. Britain and Eastern Europe: the rear-guard action, 1945-1950. Britain's economic weakness and political strategy, 1945-1950. Britain and Germany, 1945-1950. Bevin and the defence of Western Europe, 1945-1950. Bevin, West European economic recovery, and West European integration. The "Special Relationship" 1945-50.--pt. 3. Britain in Europe in the 1950s: time of transition: Britain in the 1950s: a weak great power. Britain and the struggle over West Germany. Britain and the emerging superpowers: summitry in the 1950s. Britain and West European economic integration in the 1950s.--pt. 4. Britain and Europe in the 1960s: movement and change: The outlook for the 1960s. Britain's first attempt to join the Common Market. The British nuclear deterrent and the defence of Western Europe. The politics of a European or Anglo-French deterrent. Britain and a "European defence identity." Britain and the EEC, 1966-1970. Britain and the East-West split in Europe: the 1960s. The approach to a European security conference.--pt. 5. The balance-sheet of British policy in Europe, 1945-70: The balance-sheet of British policy in Europe, 1945-70.--Notes.--Index.

History of Great Britain's postwar relations with East and West Europe and the United States, specifically Britain's attitude toward the Common Market, its "special relationship" with the United States, its relations with France within the framework of proposals for an Anglo-French deterrent and with the Commonwealth countries.

1615
Barnett, A. Doak. A NEW U.S. POLICY TOWARD CHINA. Washington, Brookings Institution [1971] xvii, 132 p. E183.8.C5B23

Contents.--Introduction.--The legacy from the past.--Recent trends in U.S. policy.--Assumptions about China.--The Asian context: a new multipolar balance.--A China policy for the 1970s.--Dilemma: the UN issue and Taiwan.--The nuclear issue and U.S. arms policy.--Conclusions.--Index.

"Examines some of the major issues relating to U.S. policy toward China and proposes a variety of policy changes through which the United States might evolve a new and more effective policy for the 1970s." The questions of U.N. representation and Taiwan are probed. Barnett studies the effects of a nuclear China on U.S. security and arms control policies and concludes by assessing the prospects for improvement in Sino-American relations.

1616
Baumel, Jacques. [FRENCH CONCEPTS OF EUROPE'S FUTURE] Französische Vorstellungen vom künftigen Europa. Wehrkunde, v. 21, Apr. 1972: 172-177. U3.W396, v. 21

French foreign policy is oriented toward the development of an independent, confederated Europe strong enough to determine its own destiny as an equal of the great powers. The greater the number of independent states united within it, the stronger will be Europe's voice. For this reason France has consistently supported an enlargement of the European Economic Community. France looks to the day when the differences between the two European economic and social systems will be negligible enough to allow a large measure of solidarity. The convening of a European security conference is a small step in that direction. To be truly independent in the great-power sense, Europe must be independent of the United States or of any other great power. The concept of mutual and balanced force reductions is a threat to that independence, for these reductions will be primarily dictated by Washington and Moscow and European national forces will be limited while U.S. and Soviet forces merely change stations. "In other words, the gap separating the European states from the superpowers will be widened and this will considerably restrict the prospects of our continent one day being able to determine its own fate." The impetus for a confederated Europe, for which the reality of the national personality will be a source of strength, must emanate from the decisionmaking centers, the existing governments.

1617
Bechtoldt, Heinrich. [MOSCOW: INDIA AND JAPAN--FLANKING CHINA] Moskau: Indien und Japan--Flanken um China. Aussenpolitik, v. 23, Feb. 1972: 61-64. D839.A885, v. 23

President Nixon's announcement of his visit to Peking prompted Moscow to take countermeasures to envelop China geographically and diplomatically. The first step was the signing of a friendship treaty with India that served New Delhi well during its invasion of East Pakistan and subsequent defeat of Pakistani forces. The second step was to seek better relations with Japan. The incentive for Tokyo was the Soviet hint of a peace treaty that would restore the Kurile Islands to Japan. The Soviet move came at a time when Japan was extremely irritated with the United States' economic policies and was reconsidering its own China policy. Moscow is interested in better relations with Tokyo in order to exploit the rift with Washington and not to facilitate a Japanese rapprochement with Peking. In fact, the Soviet Union will have to offer a proposal that seems more profitable for Japan than economic ties with China. Bids to join in the development of Siberia are not sufficient.

1618
Bonner, Joey. INDIA: PAWN IN THE HANDS OF TWO GREAT POWERS. SAIS review, v. 16, winter 1972: 9-19. D839.S35, v. 16

The Sino-Soviet dispute, by creating a disadvantageous position for China, led it to attack India for reasons of prestige and security. After initial Sino-Soviet coolness toward India and the nonalined states, the Soviets decided to treat Indian neutralism as a progressive development in international affairs. China too became conciliatory toward the neutralist states. As the Sino-Soviet schism began to appear, "India, the king of Third World nations, gradually became . . . a forum for the exposition of Sino-Soviet discordance and a political testing ground for rival tactical theories" with China, jealous of Soviet attentions to Nehru, seeing the Delhi government as bourgeois-nationalist. The Chinese diplomatic initiatives toward India's neighbors and its military successes in the disputed border regions properly humiliated India and its benefactor, the Soviet Union, which met more than its match in maneuvering with China.

1619
Bothwell, Robert. CANADA AND THE WORLD IN THE SEVENTIES. Current history, v. 62, Apr. 1972: 194-197, 213-214. D410.C82, v. 62

The United States is an inescapable factor in Canada's foreign relations. In the fifties competent, even brilliant, conduct of Canada's foreign affairs was an important asset in internal politics and raised its self-esteem. In the sixties competing ideas on foreign policy began to come from Quebec and France under de Gaulle. "The 1970's saw questions as to whether there would be a Canadian foreign policy at the decade's end." Concern for the Commonwealth seems to be out of style, and some observers suggest that it might be replaced by an interest in the Third World or Eastern Europe. Current policy, defined by Prime Minister Trudeau's policy study, emphasizes economic factors. NATO commitments have been cut and trade arrangements with the Soviet Union are being discussed. The peacekeeping role is being deemphasized and NATO ties are given more political than military significance as Canada seeks alternatives to total dependence on the United States.

1620
Bouc, Alain. PEKING NOW WANTS A UNITED EUROPE. European community, no. 154, Mar. 1972: 10-13. illus. HD9525.A2.E52, 1972

The People's Republic of China had largely ignored Western Europe until 1971 when relations between China and the nations of the European Economic Community (EEC) intensified. Mao's strategy opposes superpower hegemony in Europe by seeking to extend China's influence to those capitalist states subject to Soviet and American pressures and by focusing criticism on the frictions between the EEC and the United States. The EEC is one of the intermediary groupings which Mao believes will stem the tide of imperialism by resisting the encroaching American power. A European Economic Community of ten states would present a serious obstacle to Soviet-American hegemony in Europe. Chinese leaders are pleased by the increased frequency of disagreements between the United States and the EEC and hope for an extension of the conflict from the economic to the political realm. Chinese relations are relaxed with France, Italy and Belgium, but remain strained with the United Kingdom and West Germany. China shows increasing interest in the European Community but a completely new policy toward Europe is unlikely until relations with Bonn are clarified.

1621
Brecher, Michael. THE FOREIGN POLICY SYSTEM OF ISRAEL: SETTING, IMAGES, PROCESS. London, Oxford University Press, 1972. xxii, 693 p. illus. DS119.6.B74
Bibliography: p. [645]-662.

Partial contents.--pt. 1. Operational environment: External setting. Military capability. Political structure.--pt. 2. Psychological environment: The high policy élite. Attitudinal prism of decision-makers.--pt. 3. Process: The foreign service technical élite. The parallel technical élite. The foreign ministry at work.--Conclusions.--Appendices.--Name index.--Subject index.

A "micro-level" study of Israel's foreign policy, the objective being "to give content to a universally-applicable Research Design for foreign policy analysis." This Design, which is conceived

within a framework in which the interplay of various external and internal pressures are observed and measured, permits the prediction of probable choices among foreign policy options. By eschewing a general systems theory, the author is able to distinguish the crucial variables of the foreign policy process through a systematic inquiry into cause-effect relations.

1622
Brzezinski, Zbigniew K. THE FRAGILE BLOSSOM; CRISIS AND CHANGE IN JAPAN. New York, Harper and Row [1972] 153 p. DS889.B75
Bibliography: p. 143-146.

Partial contents.--pt. 1. Domestic developments.--pt. 2. International problems: In search of a role. Security and status. The relationship with the United States.--Conclusions and recommendations.--Source notes.--Index.

Surveys Japan's domestic and international problems and prospects. Brzezinski believes that Japanese foreign policy, marked by a "vague nationalist neutralism," will seek increased independence and flexibility, reduce its reliance on the United States, renounce an undesirable Asian role, and follow a low-key approach to Soviet overtures while being attracted by China. A worsening international situation would prompt Japan to exercise its strategic nuclear option, especially if the United States was thought to be retreating into isolationism and protectionism. However, in the event of a Japanese decision to go nuclear, U.S. assistance may actually serve American interests, because "in a setting of U.S. nuclear superiority, nuclear proliferation is definitely contrary to U.S. interests; in a setting of parity (not to speak of U.S. nuclear disadvantage), proliferation may be advantageous to the United States in that it will complicate the strategic and political planning particularly of the power that then enjoys the nuclear edge."

1623
Bueler, William M. U.S. CHINA POLICY AND THE PROBLEM OF TAIWAN. Boulder, Colorado Associated University Press [1971] 143 p.
E183.8.C5B76
Includes bibliographical references.

Contents.--Introduction.--Truman administration.--Eisenhower administration.--Kennedy administration.--Johnson administration.--Nixon administration.--Summary and analysis of the assumptions underlying U.S. policy toward Taiwan.--U.S. assumptions about Communist China which relate to policy toward Taiwan.--The political realities of Taiwan: Problems of political research and analysis on Taiwan. Political background (1945 to present). Taiwanese thinking. Mainlander thinking.--Old assumptions and new realities.--Notes.--Definition of terms.--Index.

Analyzes some of the basic assumptions about Communist China held by U.S. policymakers within the context of American policy toward Taiwan. Bueler asserts that the United States can no longer support the Nationalist Government on Taiwan and expect to improve its relations with Peking. He concludes that the answer to this contradiction is self-determination for the Taiwanese, who make up 85 percent of the population. The United States would be able to improve its relations with Communist China if it did not have to consider a Taiwanese government dominated by Mainland Chinese who want to overthrow the Peking regime.

1624
Chace, James. THE FIVE-POWER WORLD OF RICHARD NIXON. New York times magazine, Feb. 20, 1972: 14-15, 42-43, 45, 47. illus.
AP2.N6575, 1972

One key to an understanding of Richard Nixon's foreign policy is his link with Charles de Gaulle. In contrast to what might be called the Monnetist view of world affairs, which stresses the primacy of transnational forces and regionalism, the Gaullists have asserted the new legitimacy of the nation-state and the balance of power. Nixon's world is a concert of five powers--the United States, the Soviet Union, Communist China, Japan, and Europe--that in important ways resembles the old 19th-century European concert of powers. There are important differences, however. Balance of power politics is a difficult game to play when not all the powers involved are convinced that the game is worth playing. Mutual constraint then tends to reduce the capacity of each of the players to control events, as the Vietnam war and the conflict over Bangla Desh have so well illustrated. Nevertheless, a five-power world--more chaotic but not inevitably more dangerous--may be inescapable, and it is in the attempt to understand and deal with such a world that the new U.S. foreign policy is being conceived. The outlines of this new policy emerge most clearly in the changes that have been taking place in U.S.-Chinese relations. Nixon has indicated that he is willing to accept a settlement of the Taiwan issue that has been worked out by the Chinese themselves. If so, results of real substance may come out of the President's trip to China.

1625
Congressional Quarterly, inc. CHINA AND U.S. FOREIGN POLICY. [Edited by Robert A. Diamond. Contributors: Arlene Alligood and others] Washington [c1971] 91 p. illus.
E183.8.C5C718

Partial contents.--Introduction.--Reconciliation with China.--Nixon administration policy.--Taiwan.--U.S. Asian allies.--China lobbies.--Congress and China: 1946-1971.--Presidential elections and China.--Far East trade.--Charts.--Appendix.

Survey that includes some previously classified documents and a short history of Sino-American relations leading up to the reconciliation. The

achievements of the Nixon administration in this endeavor are listed along with some of the problems remaining between the two countries. Congressional China policy from 1946 to 1971 and the impact of the Chinese problem on presidential elections since 1948 are analyzed. The appendix includes summaries of, and excerpts from, the House and Senate hearings during 1970 and 1971 respectively on issues like the Sino-Soviet dispute, Taiwan, Soviet Asian policy, and trade with China, as well as the text of Presidential statements during 1968-1971.

1626
Debré, Michel. FRANCE AND HER DEFENSE POLICY. Atlantic community quarterly, v. 10, spring 1972: 71-83. D839.A85, v. 10
"Adapted from an address delivered at the Institut des Hautes Études de Défense Nationale, Oct. 19, 1971."

Domestic, diplomatic, and military policies are three elements of a defense policy. French domestic policy seeks to affirm French national unity and development; French diplomacy upholds the nation's individuality abroad, and is characterized by "a will for nonalignment as regards the great powers, by a precise, thus limited definition of . . . commitments and lastly by a diversified effort of international cooperation." French military policy calls for a dual capacity for strategic nuclear deterrence and active conventional defense and intervention. In both cases, the essential ingredient is the will--the manifest determination--not to yield to threats to the national interest or destiny. Graduated deterrence is not, of course, a realistic possibility for France; the French deterrent remains credible only so long as there exists a clear intention to "engage everything." Greater flexibility is possible in the use of conventional forces, where mobilization and reserves play an important role. One thing should be made clear: France is not indifferent to the changes that are taking place in Europe and the Mediterranean. Nor has it forgotten its long-standing commitments to overseas areas, especially in Africa, where the suppression of subversive movements makes a positive contribution to Western security. France intends to give entente, cooperation, and arms control every chance, but it has no intention of putting its fate into the hands of others. Long experience has taught the French people that they must look to themselves for the defense of their country and their interests abroad.

1627
Deuerlein, Ernst. [THE DEMARCATION POLICY AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF A GDR CLAIM TO SOLE REPRESENTATION and A DISCUSSION CONTRIBUTION] Die Abgrenzungspolitik und die Entwicklung eines Alleinvertretungsanspruches der DDR und Diskussionsbeitrag. Politische Studien, v. 23, Mar./Apr. 1972: 125-128 and 129-132. H35.P66, v. 23

The first of these two articles is a research paper delivered at a colloquium on Ostpolitik sponsored by the Akademie für Politik und Zeitgeschehen der Hanns-Seidel-Stiftung at Bad Wiessee between October 28 and 31, 1971.

According to the East German policy of demarcation, World War II ended the unity of the German nation and gave rise to the new Socialist German state, the nucleus of a new German nation. This policy contends that West Germany is a political anachronism; backward and imperialist, it is slated for extinction. Ruling out the possibility of rapprochement between the two German states, the policy represents a clearcut rejection of Bonn's call for recognition negotiations on the basis of special inner-German relationships. West Germany has failed to take this new Communist line seriously and has not deigned to counter it. Bonn would do well to recall how damaging charges of imperialism can be and the fate that befell Taiwan in the United Nations.

1628
Deumlich, Gerd. [THE TREATIES IN THE RATIFICATION PROCESS] Die Verträge im Ratifizierungsprozess. Marxistische Blätter, v. 10, Mar./Apr. 1972: 1-4. HX6.M32, v. 10

Castigates the West German opposition parties for obstructing the ratification of the Moscow and Warsaw treaties and lectures the ruling coalition on the dangers of misinterpreting the treaties in order to win over its parliamentary opponents. Deumlich claims that the Christian Democratic Union and the Christian Social Union parties raise the specter of constitutional violations to block ratification and disguise their "imperialist designs to expand eastward and liquidate the Socialist societies." These revanchist concepts must be defeated by decisive action: ratification of the treaties, recognition of the German Democratic Republic, and the convocation of a European security conference this year.

1629
Eagleton, Thomas F. CONGRESS AND THE WAR POWERS. Missouri law review, v. 37, winter 1972: 1-27. illus. LL
Appendix No. 1: Senate Joint Resolution No. 59, 92d Congress, 2d session.

Probes the distribution of the decision functions of warmaking between the executive branch and the Congress, returning to the original prinples of the Constitution to find evidence of the Founding Fathers' intentions. Eagleton asserts that the framers of the Constitution feared an overly-strong executive officer and planned the Government so that one man's decisions "could be overruled by the collective will of the legislature." He further cites court interpretations which support a distinct dichotomy of warmaking powers. In explaining the recent actual course of

events, however, Eagleton points out that Presidents since Franklin Roosevelt have acted as though they have all the authority necessary to carry out whatever action they believe needed. Eagleton's War Powers Bill to limit Presidential military options is appended. He discusses the measure, its progress and his hopes for quick passage of definite war powers legislation.

1630
Fabritzek, Uwe G. [ON THE TWO-CHINA PROBLEM. THE TAIWAN FORMULAS IN THE COMMUNIQUES RECOGNIZING PEKING] Zum Problem der beiden China. Die Taiwan-Formeln in den Kommuniqués zur Anerkennung Pekings. Osteuropa, v. 22, Jan. 1972: 56-63.
DR1.08, v. 22

Examines Communist Chinese communiques and editorials on Peking's recognition by foreign capitals to detect whether there has been any softening of the one-China doctrine. An analysis of the wording reveals that only in three of the 17 incidents of recognition since October 1970 have the Chinese failed to stress their exclusive legitimacy. Fabritzek concludes that modifications of this "Hallstein Doctrine à la chinoise" are but tactical concessions and do not affect the inflexibility of Chinese policy on the matter of recognition. Further, Peking's successful bid for international recognition has obscured Taipei's international image.

1631
Fleming, D. F. CAN WE ESCAPE FROM CONTAINING CHINA? Western political quarterly, v. 24, Mar. 1971: 163-177. JA1.W4, v. 24
"This article is a lecture given to the Peabody College Seminar on Practical Politics of Robert A. Taft Institute of Government, Nashville, July 31, 1970."

Criticizes U.S. policy toward the People's Republic of China and offers several recommendations as to how U.S. relations with the Chinese might be improved. Fleming prefaces his recommendations with an analytical and critical history of the Korean war, the containment policy as applied to Communist China, and the various phases of the Vietnam war. He finds that from first to last U.S. Asian policy has been consistently wrongheaded. His recommendations include support for Chinese membership in the United Nations, efforts to renew the talks at Warsaw, offers to establish cultural exchanges, settlement of the Vietnam, Korean, and Formosan issues, dismantling of the military encirclement of China, and the opening of trade relations.

1632
Flohr, Heiner. [SUCCESS-MONITORING IN FOREIGN POLICY. SOME METHODOLOGICAL CONSIDERATIONS] Erfolgskontrolle in der Aussenpolitik. Einige methodologische Überlegungen. Mitarbeit, v. 20, Dec. 1971: 289-302. H5.M55, v. 20

Analyzes the various relationships between foreign-policy goals and their achievement in order to explore ways of monitoring the success of a given policy. The ascertainment of the success of a policy, Flohr asserts, fulfills information, propaganda, and justification functions which in turn assist in realizing the policy.

1633
Gasteyger, Curt. [EUROPE AND THE WORLD POWERS. POLITICAL CHANGE IN THE WORLD AND EUROPEAN PERSPECTIVES] Europa und die Weltmächte. Weltpolitischer Wandel und europäische Perspektiven. Österreichische Zeitschrift für Aussenpolitik, v. 11, no. 6, 1971: 369-373.
DB47.043, v. 11
"Address by the Deputy Director of the Atlantic Institute in Paris on Dec. 14, 1971."

Examines the political and economic prospects for Western Europe within the framework of its position vis-a-vis the other world powers, especially the United States and the Soviet Union. Gasteyger asserts that Western Europe has not sufficiently studied the consequences of the reduction of American commitments abroad and the concomitant extension of Soviet and Communist Chinese influence. If Europe is to maintain its economic achievements throughout this decade, it will require more concrete political guarantees. "Europe's future relationship to the world powers will also be determined by the way it views its role in the world and what political structures it finds to fulfil this role . . . until then Europe at best will remain 'an installment-plan world power.'"

1634
Glaubitz, Joachim. [JAPAN IN THE SHADOWS OF THE AMERICAN-CHINESE CONTACTS] Japan im Schatten der amerikanisch-chinesischen Kontakte. Europa-Archiv, v. 27, Feb. 10, 1972: 101-110.
D839.E86, v. 27

Evaluates the impact of the Sino-American rapprochement on Japan's relations with mainland China. Glaubitz discusses Japan's special relationship with China, the deterioration of relations with the United States, and the problem raised by Tokyo's ties with Taiwan. Japan seeks better relations with China, but the latter's price is high: recognition of the People's Republic as the sole legal government of the Chinese people, recognition of Taiwan as an inseparable part of the territory of the People's Republic, and abrogation of the 1952 peace treaty with the Chiang regime. Peking's strategy is clear: exploitation of Japan's high level of industrialization and Tokyo's recognition of Chinese primacy in Asia. Japan will not be overly responsive to Soviet overtures for fear of jeopardizing a normalization of relations with China. Peking, on the other hand, will probably not insist on Tokyo severing its defense treaty with Washington, for that treaty acts as a brake on Japanese militarism.

1635
Gordon, Max. THE PENTAGON PAPERS: PERCEPTION AND REALITY. Science and society, v. 36, spring 1972: 78-86. H1.S25, v. 36

Although American policy makers have defended intervention in Indochina as essential to save the area from communism, the Pentagon Papers show that they knew this rationale was false. They asserted their position as defenders against world Communist subversion "because this served as legal and moral cover for an otherwise naked aggression." Unfortunately the papers throw little light on the real motivation for intervention, but American security and economic interests were certainly involved, as well as the United States' need to maintain its relative power position. The U.S. has intervened in areas where it has felt vulnerable and unable to control the situation politically--Southeast Asia and South America in particular. Since the resistance to intervention is usually Communist led, the camouflage of fighting monolithic communism is readily available.

1636
Harle, Vilho. ACTIONAL DISTANCES BETWEEN THE SOCIALIST COUNTRIES IN THE 1960's. Cooperation and conflict, no. 3/4, 1971: 201-222. illus. DL55.C66, 1971

This paper examines the degrees of cooperation and conflict between the Socialist countries from January 1962 until the end of August 1968. The study is an experiment in the *analysis of international interaction events*. The sources of data are rather exceptional news media: the relevant editorials of five Finnish newspapers and the Chronology of Current History. However, the method is not a content analysis but an event analysis. The concept of *actional distance* is used to measure and combine (both *explicitly and implicitly*) cooperation and conflict. Actional distance between A and B includes both direct interaction between them and the behavior of A and B toward some object X. The distances among the Socialist countries are described in regard to the Sino-Soviet conflict. The bloc is found to be divided into two subgroups with the exception of five countries which do not belong to either of them. The theory tested is the Simmel/Coser cohesion hypothesis, which is strongly supported by the results. The results are compared with two content analysis studies and one transaction flow study; the comparison confirms the validity of the results of this paper. The validity problem is also discussed. (Abstract supplied)

1637
Hinton, Harold C. THE BEAR AT THE GATE; CHINESE POLICYMAKING UNDER SOVIET PRESSURE. Washington, American Enterprise Institute for Public Policy Research [1971] 112 p. (AEI-Hoover policy studies, 1) (AEI special analysis 21) (Hoover Institution studies, 31)
DS740.5.R8H54
Bibliography: p. 111-112.

Partial contents.--Origins and development of Soviet pressures on China.--Peking's diplomatic management of the crisis.--Peking's political and military response to the crisis.--Current problems and the future of Sino-Soviet relations.--The United States and the Sino-Soviet dispute.--Chronology.

Describes the effects of Soviet pressures on Chinese domestic and foreign policies in the course of the territorial dispute between the two countries since the mid-1960's. Hinton finds that "in many cases the major factor involved is the trend toward stabilization and normalization of Chinese domestic and foreign policy." He concludes with analyses of Washington's relationship and options regarding the dispute between Peking and Moscow and of future U.S. policy toward China.

1638
Hirschfeld, Oswald. [DO THE TREATIES JEOPARDIZE OUR SECURITY POLICY?] Gefährden die Verträge unsere Sicherheitspolitik? Wehr und Wirtschaft, v. 16, Mar. 1972: 110-111. U3.W38, v. 16

Foreign policy must be governed by self-interest and not ideology. Thus the Moscow and Warsaw treaties do not mean that Bonn is oblivious to the threat from the East or is ready to accede to the Soviet domination over Europe. West German foreign policy is based on both détente (hence, the treaties) and security (hence, continued adherence to NATO). "Within this policy the Federal Government is making every effort--political and financial--to keep the Americans in Europe." It would be false to charge that the Eastern treaties diminish the Atlantic Alliance. On the contrary, NATO has never been as firm and united as it is today.

1639
Hodgson, John H. SOVIET FOREIGN POLICY: MENTAL ALIENATION OR UNIVERSAL REVOLUTION? Western political quarterly, v. 24, Dec. 1971: 653-665. JA1.W4, v. 24

Concludes from an examination of the three major episodes in the history of Soviet foreign policy--the Comintern line of 1928, the cold war during the 1945-1949 period, and the Cuban missile crisis of 1962--that "the primary driving force of Soviet leaders in the field of foreign policy is national security, not world revolution," but that "for the Kremlin, the notion of national security has a very important ideological component." The point is that Soviet objectives are national, Soviet perceptions and expectations Marxist-Leninist. Soviet militancy then, at least in the three periods examined, may have been defensive in character, despite appearances to the contrary when viewed from the West.

1640
Höpker, Wolfgang. [RATIFICATION--AND THEN WHAT? A CATALOG OF FUTURE PRESSURES] Ratifikation--und was dann? Ein Katalog der Pressionen für die Zukunft. Politische Meinung, v. 17, Jan./Feb. 1972: 69-77. H5.P75, v. 17

The consequences of the ratification of the Moscow and Warsaw treaties for the future of West Germany are to be found in reports "one hears repeatedly from Moscow and Warsaw that more important than the signing and approval of the documents by the Bonn parliament is the fulfilment of the spirit of the treaties." As interpreted by the Communists, this phrase can be extended to mean anything that they consider a danger to the peace. Ratification of the treaties would allow Moscow to interfere in the internal affairs of the Federal Republic, by censoring West German news media, rewriting school texts, proscribing refugee organizations and the right of asylum, and even requiring the payment of reparations. The German Communist Party now operating in West Germany would become the overseer of Bonn's obedience to the spirit of the treaties. On the pretense that the spirit of the treaties had been violated, the Soviets could exercise the intervention rights assigned to the victors in the U.N. Charter's enemy-state clauses, which were not relinquished despite the Moscow Treaty's renunciation-of-force pledge. As presently drawn and construed, the treaties contain the elements of a future conflict and should not be ratified.

1641
Holst, Johan J. THE SOVIET UNION AND NORDIC SECURITY. Cooperation and conflict, no. 3/4, 1971: 137-145. illus. DL55.C66, 1971

The author distinguishes between Soviet objectives of system preservation and system extension. Soviet policies *vis-à-vis* the Nordic area have been conceived primarily in the context of system preservation. Thus the Soviet Union has pursued a policy of no experiments and accepts the *status quo* as tolerable. The preferred Soviet model is that of a neutralist and fragmented Nordic system. The Soviet naval expansion has resulted in the forward deployment of the Northern and Baltic fleets to the Greenland - Iceland - Faeroe Islands gap. There are several structural instabilities associated with a Soviet naval strategy of forward deployment. It also affects the efficacy and credibility of US reinforcements to Norway. The North European security zone is likely to remain of considerable significance to the management of the Central Balance while oil drilling on the Norwegian continental shelf introduces a new element of uncertainty. In their negotiations with the EC the Nordic states appear to be preserving the regional equilibrium and the Soviet Union has made no serious objections. (Abstract supplied)

1642
Hon, Eugene. NIXON'S PEKING TRIP--THE ROAD TO CHINA'S RUSSIAN WAR. Assisted and edited by Richard D. Hon. San Francisco, Henson Co. [1972] 125 p. illus. E183.8.C5H67

Contents.--Introduction.--The fall of U.S. China policy and its cost (1950-1969).--On March 2, 196[illegible], the guns on Treasure Island saluted the birth of a new superpower.--How China became a superpower.--"A Sino-Soviet conflict which will not be settled in 9,000 years".--Sino-Soviet negotiations in Peking--a prewar negotiation.--China's strategy against Russia, and what is limited warfare?--The change in U.S.-China policy is inevitable.--Optimism and the means to settle differences in the Peking summitry.--U.S.-Red China co-existence in the face of a Sino-Soviet war.

Analyzes the changing course of Sino-American relations, focusing on the implications of the new China policy for the rest of the world in the coming decade. Hon asserts that although the United States will not become isolationist, its role in world affairs will become less preponderant and more that of a spectator.

1643
Jennings, Richard M. THE THRUST OF THE NIXON DOCTRINE. In U.S. Command and General Staff College, Fort Leavenworth. Military review, v. 52, Feb. 1972: 3-9. illus. Z6723.U35, v. 52

The Nixon Doctrine and the strategy of realistic deterrence outline a moderate program of strong economic and political action backed by balanced military forces. This new approach to international order takes full account of the diversity of the Communist camp and the increased capabilities of the nations of the free world. It also reflects the American domestic mood and changed perspectives on the national interest. The extremes of overcommitment and isolation are avoided as are the pitfalls of a Fortress America strategy or overreliance on nuclear weapons or air and naval power. Each of the services has a mission, with general-purpose forces playing a key role. The test of the new doctrine is yet to come, of course. The aim is to maintain U.S. commitments abroad while distributing responsibility to other capable free-world nations. This must be done without upsetting the delicate international equilibrium. It is an operation that will require the maintenance of a credible deterrent at all levels and the skillful execution of a well-conceived foreign policy.

1644
Koloskov, B. THE SINO-AMERICAN TALKS. New times, no. 11, Mar. 1972: 4-6. D839.N483, 1972

An analysis of the implications of the Sino-American talks reveals that despite the participants' opinion that the talks "changed the world," they in fact made no positive contribution to international peace and security, failed to

strengthen the forces of socialism and the national liberation front, and did not resolve the problems of disarmament and the Middle East. The meetings did not even normalize relations between the United States and China. The secrecy surrounding the talks indicates that the participants do "have something to hide from the world, their allies, and their own people." The rapprochement between Washington and Peking shows that Peking has abandoned the fundamental principles of Socialist foreign policy and that Washington's imperialist foreign policy is weakening in its confrontation with socialism.

1645
Larkin, Bruce D. CHINA AND AFRICA, 1949-1970; THE FOREIGN POLICY OF THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA. Berkeley, University of California Press, 1971. 268 p. DT38.9.C5L38 1971
"This volume is sponsored by the Center for Chinese Studies, University of California, Berkeley."
Bibliography: p. [245]-256.

Contents.--Introduction.--Beginnings.--The Chinese presence in Africa.--Economic relations.--The enemy and persistent struggle.--Disappointments and setbacks.--The Chinese revolutionary model.--African states and liberation movements.--Prospects and probabilities.--Appendix.--Bibliographic note.--Bibliography.--Index.

Overview of China's activities in Africa within the context of Peking's overt doctrine of revolutionary action. A statement of hypotheses concerning Chinese foreign-policy processes is used to explain how the seemingly contradictory facets of Chinese policy can be thought consistent by Peking's decision makers. Larkin contends that while evolutionist and revolutionary Chinese policies are pursued simultaneously, they are insulated from each other by the implicit assumption that revolution is a long-term objective. He concludes that "there is no convincing evidence that Peking's revolutionists are a major threat to indigenous African political life [since] they must cope with an unreceptive socio-political environment." The appendix describes Chinese institutions that deal with African problems and gives the names of some of the persons conducting Chinese policy toward Africa.

1646
Lenczowski, George. SOVIET ADVANCES IN THE MIDDLE EAST. Washington, American Enterprise Institute for Public Policy Research [1972, c1971] 176 p. illus. (United States interests in the Middle East) (Foreign affairs study 2)
DS63.2.R9L43
"Presented by the American Enterprise Institute for Public Policy Research as the seventh study within the framework of the Middle East Research Project."
Includes bibliographical references.

Contents.--Introduction.--Doctrinal foundations.--Iran: from subversion to aid and trade.--Turkey: toward normalization.--Soviet advances in the Arab world.--Egypt: expanding relations.--Syria: aid and ideology.--Iraq: potency of the Communist factor.--Soviet arms and military presence.--Summary and conclusion.--Appendixes.

Traces and analyzes the growth of Soviet power in the Middle East, with special stress on events since the Arab-Israeli war of 1967. Soviet successes, of which there are many, are due largely to the receptivity of radical Arab regimes to the blandishments of economic and military aid. The Western powers must make a greater effort to prove that they are not hostile to Arab aspirations and do not support schemes of expansionism directed against Arab communities. The signs of a more moderate attitude among Arab leaders have so far failed to bear fruit.

1647
Linde, Gerd. [THE INDO-SOVIET TREATY OF PEACE, FRIENDSHIP AND COOPERATION OF AUGUST 9, 1971] Der indisch-sowjetische Vertrag über Frieden, Freundschaft und Zusammenarbeit vom 9. August 1971. Köln, 1971. 21 p. (Berichte des Bundesinstituts für Ostwissenschaftliche und Internationale Studien, 41/1971.) HX15.G468 1971, Nr. 41
Includes text of the treaty, in German translation.

Contents.--The Gromyko trip.--The Indo-Soviet Treaty.--The end of nonalinement?--The effects on the East Bengali crisis.--Summary.--Text of the treaty.

The Indo-Soviet Treaty of Friendship (1971) only gives formal expression to a process long underway: a gradual shift by New Delhi from its principle of nonalinement. Despite protestations to the contrary, the treaty with its consultative clause is tantamount to a defense pact promising India protection against China and Pakistan. Thus the treaty does not really serve the cause of détente on the subcontinent. The Soviet Union loses the friendship of Pakistan at a time when the latter's international reputation is at an all-time low because of its actions in East Bengal. In its stead the Soviet Union gains the friendship of the Bengali people. This is not only an ideological victory for Moscow but a practical step toward obtaining naval bases on the Bay of Bengal. In the domestic struggle between Peking-oriented and Moscow-oriented Communists the Soviets have stolen a march on the Chinese. The possibility cannot be excluded that other Asian states may follow New Delhi's suit; one of the first to sign a friendship pact with Moscow may be Ceylon.

1648
Löwenthal, Richard. CONTINUITY AND CHANGE IN SOVIET FOREIGN POLICY. Survival, v. 14, Jan./Feb. 1972: 2-7. U162.S9, v. 14

The Soviet political system is in its postrevolutionary phase. In foreign policy, the operative

principle is "peaceful coexistence," which excludes nuclear war but not Soviet expansion by more limited and controlled forms of conflict. In the East, the long-term aim is to retard the growth of Chinese power. In the West, the goals have long been to overcome the U.S. superiority in strategic armaments, undermine the Atlantic Alliance, consolidate the Soviet empire in Eastern Europe, and penetrate Western positions in the Third World. Within this framework, the two questions that face Soviet policymakers are whether to give first priority to external or domestic needs and to the Western or Chinese adversary. The Cuban missile crisis led to a massive effort to overtake the United States in the arms race and to a holding action in the East. This "Westward offensive" paid large dividends up until 1967-68, but then became counterproductive. This development, together with a serious desire to devote more resources to internal needs, produced a decision to seek consolidation, negotiation, and détente with the West. This policy too has met with some success, but in an unstable world no rapprochement between major powers can ever be permanent or complete. The special character of the disputes in the Mediterranean and the Middle East and the great technical difficulties of arms control negotiations guarantee that a settlement will be less than perfect. There is one other danger--Western disunity, if not checked by timely action, could convince the Soviet Union of the merits of a more aggressive and unyielding stance in Europe. Soviet reluctance to deal with troop reductions within the alliance framework may be one sign that this posture is already under consideration.

1649
McCracken, H. E. JAPAN'S VIEW OF KOREA. In United States Naval Institute, Annapolis. Proceedings, v. 98, Feb. 1972: [41]-47. illus.
V1.U8, v. 98

Examines the place occupied by the Korean peninsula in Japanese thinking on national security matters. Proximity alone is enough to secure to the two Koreas a special place in Japan's strategic outlook. Tokyo can be expected to act quickly, and, if necessary, unilaterally, to thwart any changes in the peninsula that appear to threaten Japan's own interests. For the moment, despite the pressures generated by China's growing nuclear power, the appeal of "nuclear respectability," the reduced U.S. presence in Asia, and Japan's own positive commitments, the Japanese are not planning any rapid military buildup. Current and anticipated defense programs stress sophistication rather than expansion. However, all this obviously could be changed by events abroad, especially in the Koreas. It is estimated that the Japanese could have nuclear weapons--warhead and delivery system--within a year of the decision to go nuclear.

1650
McGee, Gale. [AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY. ITS AIMS AND LIMITATIONS] Die amerikanische Aussenpolitik. Ziel und Begrenzung. Wehrkunde, v. 21, Apr. 1972: 169-172. U3.W396, v. 21

Until the Second World War, the United States pursued a foreign policy that either avoided or exploited the European balance of power. After the war the armed preeminence and aggressive actions of the Soviet Union necessitated the establishment of a counterpact in which America participated. Backed by the American nuclear deterrent NATO preserved the peace. The agreement between Washington and Moscow anticipated from the Strategic Arms Limitation Talks will enhance the significance of conventional weapons so that any hastily-conceived reduction of U.S. forces in Europe could have devastating consequences. "In our attempt to seek avenues of conciliation with the Soviet Union we must not commit the foolish error of letting the favorable balance of forces slip away from us." Shifts can already be detected in Central Europe and the Eastern Mediterranean. To meet these new challenges NATO needs to be so restructured that its Western European members will have greater responsibility and could establish within the Alliance framework a defense pact in which France would again play a leading role. The United States would continue its obligations to its European allies. The enlargement of the European Economic Community has prepared the ground for a new defense system.

1651
Moyer, Andrew. METTERNICH IN CHINA. Socialist leader, v. 64, Mar. 25, 1972: 5. illus.
HD4805.N35, v. 64

The foreign policy principles of Henry Kissinger rest on nineteenth-century balance of power concepts that often played one state against the other in order to maintain power relationships. Kissinger's principles have become American policy. President Nixon's visit to China not only symbolized an easement of Sino-American relations, but leaves the Sino-Soviet split open and keeps Soviet military forces aimed at China that might otherwise have been diverted toward Europe. At the same time the Sino-American relationship can be kept warm through increased trade. Chinese interests are primarily local and concerned with defense against aggression from Russia or Japan. Of secondary, but genuine, concern is China's desire to play a leadership role in the Third World. Despite ideological differences China is willing to deal with the major imperialist power for its own benefit.

1652
Nes, David G. THE SOVIETS IN THE MIDDLE EAST. In U.S. Command and General Staff College, Fort Leavenworth. Military review, v. 52, June 1972: 80-85. illus. Z6723.U35, v. 52

Throughout history, the power that controlled Egypt dominated its time. The United States seems not to have grasped this fact, but the Soviet Union certainly has, and largely as a result of

the 1967 Arab-Israeli war has already advanced far toward its goal of gaining control over the United Arab Republic. Its position in the Mediterranean now is similar to that held there by Great Britain and the United States after World War II. The Soviet Union has no desire to see Israel crushed. On the contrary, since U.S. support for Israel works to the Soviet Union's advantage, the Kremlin could not hope for a better arrangement than the present one, where there is neither war nor peace. The Soviet Union is after much bigger game than Israel: By its support of the Arabs, it hopes to reduce U.S. and NATO political and military strength in the region and ultimately achieve control over European and Japanese access to Middle East oil. With that done, a Soviet-Israeli rapprochement, which would deprive the United States of the last of its nonstrategic options in the region, would become a real possibility.

1653
Nobel, Genia. [THE ANTI-MARXIST POLICIES OF THE MAOISTS. TWO LINES IN CHINESE DEVELOPMENT] Die antimarxistische Politik des Maoismus. Zwei Linien in der chinesischen Entwicklung. Einheit, v. 27, no. 2, 1972: 198-210.
HX6.E4

Deals with the implications for the Chinese Communist Party of the struggle between the Marxist-Leninist, internationalist forces and the elements that defend a petty bourgeois and nationalist ideology. The author provides evidence of the nationalism and the great-power chauvinism marking the policies of the Maoist leaders and of their fundamental hostility to the Soviet Union. She discusses Peking's repeated attempts to achieve international hegemony, all of which resulted in failure. In conclusion, she underlines the Peking leaders' outright departure from any class standpoint characterizing their present international policy of connivance with imperialism, which is directed against the Soviet Union and its Socialist allies, the interests of the world Communist movement and the worldwide struggle against imperialism. (Abstract supplied, modified)

1654
Pawelka, Peter. [THE U.N. AND THE GERMAN PROBLEM; THE GERMAN PROBLEM IN THE FIELD OF TENSION BETWEEN THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF GERMANY AND THE UNITED NATIONS, WITH SPECIAL ATTENTION TO THE FOREIGN POLICY OF THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF GERMANY, 1949 TO 1967] Die UNO und das Deutschlandproblem; das Deutschlandproblem im Spannungsfeld zwischen der Bundesrepublik Deutschland und den Vereinten Nationen, unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der Aussenpolitik der Bundesrepublik Deutschland, 1949 bis 1967. Tübingen, Mohr, 1971. 232 p. (Tübinger Studien zur Geschichte und Politik, Nr. 28)
DD259.4.P36
Bibliography: p. [209]-227.

Contents.--pt. 1. The U.N. intervention-influence model: The initial model: the interdependence between "inner war" and "international system." The specification of the initial model. The new model.--pt. 2. The historical analysis: Case studies of the intervention mechanism. Case studies of the influence mechanism.--pt. 3. The systematic analysis: The German problem and the intervention mechanism of the U.N. The German problem and the influence mechanism of the U.N.

Attempts to show how changes in the international system can influence the foreign policy goals of a state. To illustrate, Pawelka develops the case of West Germany where a social transformation of the international environment "confronted the West German political elite with demands which can no longer be adequately responded to by routine or 'programed' decision strategies."

1655
PEACE WITH CHINA? U.S. DECISIONS FOR ASIA. Edited by Earl C. Ravenal. With contributions by John W. Dower [and others] New York, Liveright [1971] 248 p. DS33.4.U6P44
Contains mainly discussions from a conference held at the Institute for Policy Studies, Washington, D.C., Sept. 1970.
Includes bibliographical references.

Contents.--Introduction: policy, prophecy, and national action, by Earl C. Ravenal.--The Nixon doctrine: disengagement or confrontation?: The Nixon doctrine, defense policy, and China, by Earl C. Ravenal. The rhetoric and the reality of disengagement, by Leslie H. Gelb. Reactions from Japan, by Morton H. Halperin. Will the Nixon doctrine mean anything? by Robert E. Osgood. The hidden significance of the Nixon doctrine, by John W. Dower. Never again? by Richard A. Falk.--Decisionmaking for Asia: options or compulsions?: Trade-offs and military assistance, by Leon Sloss. Defense planning and military capabilities, by Pierre M. Sprey. Concepts and force structures, by Leonard Rodberg. Options and tactical nuclear weapons, by Stanley M. Kanarowski. Strategy and the evolution of 1 1/2 wars; discussion. Politics, intervention, and escalation, by Daniel Ellsberg. International order and American behavior, by Marcus G. Raskin. National budgets and major choices, by Charles P. Shirkey.--The economic stakes: profits or losses?: The costs and benefits of Asia, by Richard F. Kaufman. The economic consequences of intervention and disengagement, by Seymour Melman.--Approaches to China: accommodation or containment?: The one China and the two Chinas, by Earl C. Ravenal. The Chinese threat and the problem of deterrence, by William W. Whitson. Ending the permanent confrontation with China, by Franz Schurmann.--Epilogue: beyond 1972--the political-military gap, by Earl C. Ravenal.

Contributions to a conference held to examine the Nixon doctrine and its implications for U.S. relations with Communist China and Asia. The contributors deal not only with substantive aspects of U.S. policy toward China and Asia, but with the policy process, the business of how policy is made, as well. Ravenal concludes that the United

States is entering a new "Byzantine" era in its national existence, a period which will find the country "policing a more consolidated empire; exercising a more sophisticated blend of diplomacy and war, manipulation and coercion; deploying more parsimoniously its technically virtuose weapons and mercenary armies; dispensing internal welfare and resting content with a more settled mercantilism; superimposing self-centered executive institutions on a quiescent and deferent political base."

1656
Pell, Claiborne. POWER AND POLICY; AMERICA'S ROLE IN WORLD AFFAIRS. New York, Norton [1972] 171 p.
E744.P34

Contents.--Preface.--Acknowledgment.--What are the lessons of history?--What does America want?--The challenges.--How our foreign policy is made.--True long-term objectives of American foreign policy.--Appendix.

Examines the challenges to and the philosophical bases of U.S. foreign policy and suggests that because the executive branch has assumed too much power in the conduct of American foreign policy, the Congress must reassert its constitutional prerogatives. Pell cites the importance of congressional initiative in the generation of treaties which can then be used by the executive branch to prepare final draft treaties. He invites comparison of the Senate and State Department ocean treaties and believes congressional initiative is an effective way to encourage the executive branch to take action on neglected issues. He points out that major wars are caused by the failure of national policies to change rapidly enough to coincide with national interests. Pell uses historical precedent to show that a major weakness of American foreign policy is its lack of specific objectives and, then, concludes that the major challenge facing the United States today is to understand its real national interests.

1657
Potholm, Christian P. AT THE INTERFACE: CANADA AND THE UNITED STATES IN THE SEVENTIES. Current history, v. 62, Apr. 1972: 181-184, 216.
D410.C82, v. 62

Attitudes about a common defense policy for Canada and the United States have clearly shifted in the last twenty years. The trend has been toward a reduction of the Canadian commitment to mutual defense. This reduction has been justified by several arguments including the reliability of American defense guarantees and the impossibility of actual nuclear confrontation. Canadians charge that the U.S. is imperialistic in its treatment of its northern neighbor, an attitude that strengthens Canadian desire for autonomy and its new sense of national pride. Despite Canada's independent stance, its economy is still closely linked with America. Any change in that relationship would require major surgery.

1658
PRESIDENT NIXON'S CHINA INITIATIVE: A CONFERENCE REPORT. Orbis, v. 15, winter 1972: 1206-1219.
D839.068, v. 15

Summary of the discussion at the Conference on the Impact of President Nixon's Planned Visit to Peking, Oct. 2, 1971, sponsored by the Foreign Policy Research Institute in Philadelphia.

Discusses President Nixon's China initiative, focusing on the prospects for substantive results, the effect on Japan's future role, the Sino-Soviet conflict, the Asian balance of power, the domestic political situation in China, and the implications for U.S. strategy in the Pacific. China will benefit most from rapprochement with the United States and the Soviet Union will be the real loser. It was unanimously agreed that if America is to be an effective international actor its institutions will have to be revitalized. A case in point is the Army, which must remain strong if the United States is to carry out a responsible Asian policy.

1659
PRESIDENT NIXON'S VISIT TO THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA. In U.S. Dept. of State. Department of State bulletin, v. 66, Mar. 20, 1972: 419-440.
JX232.A33, v. 66

Documents relating to President Richard M. Nixon's visit to the People's Republic of China, Feb. 21-27, 1972, together with a chronology of the trip. Included are the President's remarks at the departure ceremony in Washington, D.C., and on various other occasions during the trip; exchanges of toasts with Chou En-lai and other Chinese officials; statements by the President's Press Secretary at various times during the trip; the joint U.S.-Chinese communique issued at Shanghai on Feb. 27; and a news conference held by Henry Kissinger, Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs, and Marshall Green, Assistant Secretary of State for East Asian and Pacific Affairs, to discuss the terms of the joint communique.

1660
Pusey, Merlo J. THE U.S.A. ASTRIDE THE GLOBE. Boston, Houghton Mifflin, 1971. 247 p.
UA23.P88
Includes bibliographical references.

Contents.--Preface.--The eagle's-eye view.--Twentieth-century Hercules.--Collective defense undermined.--The hidden war in Laos.--Our entanglement with Thailand.--Cambodia and the Nixon doctrine.--How to irritate friends and undermine security.--Our military liaison with Spain.--The NATO keystone.--Too much American presence.--Seeds of disintegration.--Strange new alliance in the Far East.--Trying to look ahead.--Index.

Studies America's military status around the world by recording the extent of Washington's political and military involvement in countries like

Spain, Laos, Santo Domingo, and Thailand. Pusey argues that the United States is militarily overextended and its policy of attempting to put down every left-wing uprising is irrational and harmful. He urges that America find a middle ground between withdrawal into Fortress America and endeavoring to dominate every international sphere. He calls upon Americans to make greater efforts toward peace and accommodation.

1661
Radzibor, Cyrill von. [TWICE GERMANY IN THE U.N.? AN UNDERSTANDING BETWEEN THE FRG AND THE GDR A PREREQUISITE] Zweimal Deutschland in der UNO? Einvernehmen zwischen BRD und DDR vorher erforderlich. Auslands-Kurier, v. 13, Mar. 1972: 3-4.
DD68.A8, v. 13

Because of the veto right of the big powers, neither of the two Germanys will become a member of the United Nations until an agreement has been reached between them. "This means primarily that the Socialist-Unity Government in East Berlin will have to concede the fact that a German nation lives within the boundaries of the two German states and to submit to joint arrangements for living peacefully as neighbors." Communist China's entry into the United Nations has created a new situation as regards German U.N. membership. The Bonn Government will, therefore, have to sound out Peking before making any move toward seeking formal membership in the world body. Although the Federal Republic is an active member of many U.N. special agencies, it has never actively sought membership in the main body. On the other hand, the efforts of the German Democratic Republic to become a member are not new, but they have always foundered because of the insistence of the Western powers that Bonn is "the only government that is authorized to speak for the German people in international matters."

1662
Rajan, M. S. NON-ALIGNMENT: INDIA AND THE FUTURE. [Mysore] Prasārānga, University of Mysore, 1970. 116, [1] p. (University of Mysore. Special lectures series 26) DS448.R236
Bibliography: p. 105-[117].
Extended version of three lectures delivered at the University of Mysore on February 10-12, 1970.

Contents.--Non-alignment: its meaning and justification.--Successes and failures of non-alignment.--The future of non-alignment.--Select readings.--References.

Examines the nonalinement policy in the modern world where it has become a permanent addition to the international system. Rajan defines the policy as the retention of freedom of action in international affairs (especially with respect to the superpowers) which expresses itself as the ability to make ad hoc decisions on international issues. He finds that its successes have outnumbered its failures and that it has furthered national independence, equality of states, international peace and security, social justice and economic development. Just as the nonalined states contributed to the preservation of independence and world peace in the cold war, they should similarly act now to "prevent the detente between the Super Powers from becoming an entente, or what is worse, a condominium of the Super Powers, over the rest of the society of nations." Rajan sees a need for greater nonalined and regional cooperation in economic development accompanied by efforts at local and regional conflict resolution, disarmament, and functional cooperation.

1663
Rapacki, Zbigniew. [A NEW CHAPTER IN POLISH-GERMAN RELATIONS] Un nouveau chapitre des relations polono-allemandes. Politique étrangère, v. 37, no. 2, 1972: 197-219.
JX3.P6, v. 37

The Berlin accords have preserved the chances of a dialog between the two Germanys, whose beneficiary in the long run one still does not know. Now, the Polish western boundary, which should not be modified by force, but can be codified by mutual consent, will depend in fact in the future on the relations between the two Germanys. The Warsaw Treaty will have the merit of ending a long period of mutual grievances and of permitting the hope of reconciliation between Poland and Germany. Insofar as the Western powers confirm Poland's western boundary and West German public opinion can be induced to accept it, this reconciliation, according to the author, is possible. (Translation of supplied abstract)

1664
Riste, Olav. THE GREAT POWERS AND THE NORTHERN CAP 1940-45. Cooperation and conflict, no. 1, 1972: 1-12. DL55.C66, 1972

Against the background of general uncertainty and suspicion prevalent in the western world of Russian intentions in foreign policy, this article reviews the history of the Northern Cap--the land mass between the Atlantic and the White Sea north of the Arctic Circle--during the Second World War, and analyses the occasions when the great powers were concerned with the future place of the Cap in international relations. Particular attention is devoted to the events surrounding Roosevelt's suggestions to the Norwegian Foreign Minister for free ports in north Norway to serve as places of transit to and from the Soviet Union. The evidence from the war period is interpreted as confirming the defensive nature of Soviet aims on the Northern Cap, and suggests in particular a tacit agreement which would leave north Norway outside the spheres of direct influence of the great powers--thus reaffirming the long range stability of border relations in the area. (Abstract supplied)

1665
Roskin, Michael. WHAT "NEW ISOLATIONISM"? Foreign policy, no. 6, spring 1972: 118-127.
N&CPR

Who are the "new isolationists" and what is the "new isolationism"? The closer one looks at these notions, the more evident it becomes that they are little more than vague labels with some polemic value but little real content, whose introduction into public discussion has served only to obscure the real substance of the current debate over American foreign policy. The real issue in this debate--and it is certainly a legitimate one--is where the defense of America should start, perhaps the oldest issue in American foreign policy. The dispute, in other words, is between "interventionists" and "noninterventionists," between those who believe that American security requires the deployment of U.S. troops overseas and those who do not. There is certainly no obvious or final answer to this very old question, but by exorcising the new isolationist chimera and operationalizing the issue in these new terms--it is to be understood that "interventionist" and "noninterventionist" are not absolutes but relatives--one can at least hope to introduce some degree of clarity into what is now a confusing cacaphony of almost meaningless polemic.

1666
Rostow, Eugene V. EIGHT FOREIGN POLICIES FOR THE UNITED STATES--WHICH IS YOURS? New York times magazine, Apr. 23, 1972: 16-17, 64-67, 70. illus.
AP2.N6575, 1972

Advocates serious study of the nature of foreign policy and its relationship to government actions. Rostow outlines eight categories of foreign policy theory that he has identified as being currently argued. They include: pacifism, a theory that is easier to write about than to practice; "all-out ideological anti-Communism," that sees a clear enemy and entertains no compromise; the Communists and fellow travelers who range from Marxists to broadly defined revolutionaries whose advocacy is often characterized by violence; "old fashioned isolationism" that would concentrate on domestic problems and keep the rest of the world at a cool objective distance; the virtue beyond peace proponents who "would regard the foreign policy of the United States as successful only if it resulted in the emergence around the world of states whose internal social and political lives met with their approval"; the school of Realpolitik whose prime concern is protection of national interest; world government advocates; and the balance of power theory espoused by Rostow.

1667
Safran, Nadav. HOW LONG WILL SADAT LAST? MOSCOW'S NOT-SO-SECRET WISH. New Middle East, nos. 42/43, Mar./Apr. 1972: 5-8. illus.
DS63.1.N48, 1972

The Soviets have become increasingly displeased with Anwar Sadat. He arrived in Moscow hoping to win guarantees of Soviet support for his intended all-out offensive against Israel. He was sent away with instructions to stop talking war, remain calm, and wait to see what comes from President Nixon's visit in May. The Soviet concern in the Middle East is related to its contest with China, its global strategy regarding the United States, and its interest in seeing the Suez Canal reopened. The Soviet Union is also interested in a Socialist unification that would aline the interests of Egypt and Syria more closely with Soviet interests. Sadat, although he embraced Socialist principles willingly, has appeared erratic and emotional. The Soviet leaders "probably expressed more than a faint wish that he should go away altogether and give way to someone of more steady purpose from their point of view."

1668
Scheel, Walter. [GERMAN OSTPOLITIK CALLS FOR AGREEMENT IN THE WEST] Die deutsche Ostpolitik fördert die Einigung im Westen [interview] Europäische Begegnung, v. 12, Apr. 1972: 8-9. illus.
AP30.E78, v. 12

The entry of the United Kingdom into the European Economic Community (EEC) will increase the political authority of Western Europe. The various EEC organs in their frequent consultations over political questions are developing a harmonization of foreign policies so that "Europe will speak with one voice." This unity of policy is the prerequisite for collaboration with Eastern Europe, for the normalization of relations with the East goes hand-in-hand with West European integration. This policy in turn requires a close alliance with the United States within the NATO framework. Since the United States obviously cannot and will not forever bear the main burden of European security, "we must exert ourselves" to strengthen the European share of the Atlantic Alliance. Talk of building a European defense community within NATO is speculative, at least until a greater degree of political unity has been reached.

1669
Schmidt, Helmut. [SECURITY AND COLLABORATION IN EUROPE] Sicherheit und Zusammenarbeit in Europa. Neue Gesellschaft, v. 19, Mar. 1972: 163-167. illus.
H5.N36, v. 19

Détente is a dynamic, ongoing process with one step leading to the next, in the manner in which Moscow and Warsaw treaties and the Berlin Agreement followed one another and, when ratified and in force, will lead to the convening of a European conference on security and collaboration. These steps were made possible by the common willingness of the United States and the Soviet Union to limit their nuclear inventory through the Strategic Arms Limitation Talks (SALT). The next step is the security conference, which will probably take the form of a long series of meetings. The West German Government holds that the discussion of mutual and balanced force reductions (MBFR) is a key item for the conference agenda. Negotiations on MBFR will be for the peace of Central Europe what SALT has been for the two superpowers. Bonn's effort

toward détente is part of a twofold strategy of "Defense and détente," the tandem policy of Ost and Westpolitik.

1670
Schulz, Klaus-Peter. [THE EUROPE THAT WE NEED. WESTERN EUROPE AS A FUTURE DEMOCRATIC BLOC] Das Europa, das wir brauchen. Westeuropa als künftiger Block der Demokratie. Politische Meinung, v. 17, Jan./Feb. 1972: 24-34.
H5.P75, v. 17

Because of the linkage between the ratification of the Moscow and Warsaw treaties and the finalization of the Berlin accords and the subsequent convocation of a European security conference, the year 1972 will witness either the failure or confirmation of a Western policy that has gradually accommodated itself to the risks inherent in this security-conference concept. The Soviets seek to use the conference to wring from the West the recognition of "Eastern realities" and at the same time to change basic "Western realities." The unequivocal renunciation of German reunification by the Brandt/Scheel Government, the American desire to disengage from Europe, and the political opportunism current in Western Europe abet these Soviet aims. The alternative for Western Europe is integration, the creation of a democratic bloc that will serve as a counterweight to the Soviet Union.

1671
Schurmann, H. Franz. THE ROLE OF IDEAS IN AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY; A CONFERENCE REPORT. Edited by Gene M. Lyons. With contributions by Franz Schurmann, Ernest R. May [and] Cyril E. Black. Hanover, N.H., Published for the Public Affairs Center, Dartmouth College [by the] University Press of New England, 1971. 67 p.
E840.S37

Three papers read at the Orvil E. Dryfoos Bicentennial Conference on Public Affairs, Dartmouth College, 1970.

Contents.--Introduction, by Gene M. Lyons.--Back to the cold war . . . or worse, by Franz Schurmann.--Ideas about military strategy, by Ernest R. May.--Theories of political development, by Cyril E. Black.

Three presentations on the place of ideas in policymaking noting the complex relationship between ideas and actions, the difficulty of finding wisdom, and the greater difficulty of linking wisdom and action. Schurmann points to the need for defining the environment and stresses that people must know whether they are at peace or at war, so they can behave accordingly. However, he doubts that the Nixon administration will be guided by "a real commitment to peace either in rhetoric or in reality." Hence he predicts a return to the cold war, accompanied by an escalation of local conflicts and the suppression of American democracy by American militarism. May considers the effect that writers and theorists of strategy may have on the design of foreign policy. His approach is to determine how a particular development might have turned out if a given book or article had not been written. Black suggests that policymakers who may consider themselves theory-free are actually guided by internalized hypotheses of which they may be hardly aware.

1672
SOVIET WESTERN POLICY. Survival, v. 14, Jan./Feb. 1972: 16-27.
U162.S9, v. 14

Contents.--A step serving the interests of peace, by G. A. Arbatov.--Brezhnev-Brandt communique of 18 September 1971.--Joint Soviet-French declaration of 30 October 1971.--Principles of cooperation between the USSR and France of 30 October 1971.--The Soviet buildup in the North-East Atlantic, by Johan J. Holst.

Articles and documents on Soviet foreign and military policy toward the United States and Europe. Arbatov examines some areas of common concern to the United States and the Soviet Union including the expansion of trade relations and scientific and technical cooperation and the prevention of nuclear war. The last would involve the elimination of some of the more troublesome sources of conflict, the establishment of a stable security system for Europe, and the restriction or termination of the arms race. Holst calls attention to a Soviet naval buildup in the Atlantic Ocean off Norway and warns that military power is still very much a part of Soviet foreign policy.

1673
Steinkamm, Armin A. [LEGAL QUESTIONS ON THE MOSCOW TREATY OF AUGUST 12, 1970] Rechtsfragen zum Moskauer Vertrag vom 12. August 1970. Politische Studien, v. 23, Mar./Apr. 1972: 142-167.
H35.P66, v. 23

Examines the Moscow Treaty to ascertain whether its stipulations are compatible with international law and the West German constitution. Steinkamm contends that the treaty as it stands implies recognition of East Germany, obligates West Germany to support Soviet hegemony in Eastern Europe, and affords no future opportunity for termination of the treaty. Further, by reason of its boundary provisions, the treaty conflicts with West German adherence to the European Agreement for the Protection of Human Rights and Basic Freedoms and to the Stimson Doctrine, which have to do with forced deportations and territorial changes respectively. Finally, the treaty conflicts with the West German constitutional goal of reunification.

1674
Swanson, John R. THE SUPERPOWERS AND MULTIPOLARITY: FROM PAX AMERICANA TO PAX SOVIETICA? Orbis, v. 15, winter 1972: 1035-1050.
D839.068, v. 15

There is a strong possibility that the Soviet Union will be the beneficiary of the transition from a bipolar to a multipolar international system. While the United States is occupied by the marginal disengagement made possible by the decline of anticommunism, the Soviet Union's centralized government allows its leaders more flexibility to exert greater influence on international trends. A realistic forecast sees the United States as turned more inward, less flexible in its capacity to control resources for foreign-policy purposes, and disillusioned with a global foreign policy. The question for Americans is whether during the rest of this century they will be able "to live with the consequences of peace in a multipolar Pax Sovietica."

1675
Tatu, Michel. THE GREAT POWER TRIANGLE: WASHINGTON--MOSCOW--PEKING. Paris, Atlantic Institute [1970] 27 p. (The Atlantic papers, 3)
E183.8.R9T33

Contents.--Washington versus Moscow.--Moscow versus Peking.--Washington versus Peking.--Effects of the triangular situation.--Collusion between Moscow and Washington.--Collusion between Moscow and Peking.--Collusion between Washington and Peking.

Considers the implications of a Washington-Moscow-Peking triangle and forecasts the reactions of these powers to particular issues within the framework of the new constellation. With respect to the Strategic Arms Limitation Talks and the effect of China's growing nuclear potential, Tatu argues that the Soviet Union and the United States either will have to maintain their nuclear monopoly to keep ahead of China or come to an understanding with each other and allow China to play an increasing part in the strategic equation. He concludes that once the tripolar system becomes operative with a Washington-Peking dialog, the United States will be in the best position of the three powers to achieve its objective of world stability.

1676
Thomson, Dale C. [CANADIAN-AMERICAN RELATIONS: COEXISTENCE OR INTEGRATION] Les rélations Canado-Américaines: coexistence ou intégration. Politique étrangère, v. 37, no. 2, 1972: 163-184.
JX3.P6, v. 37

Canada has in the past always attempted to differentiate itself from the United States; the First World War raised Canada to the rank of a nation; the Second World War to that of a world power. However, Canada is so strongly bound both economically and strategically to the United States that its national identity is being threatened. On the cultural level, Canadian authorities are making great financial and legislative efforts to maintain this identity. In recent years, Canadian-American diplomatic relations have become more rigid. The Canadians want to defend themselves, for they feel vulnerable vis-a-vis the American preponderance, but on the other hand the proximity of the United States is a trump card which they would be wrong in not exploiting. (Translation of supplied abstract)

1677
Thomson, Dale C., and Roger F. Swanson. CANADIAN FOREIGN POLICY: OPTIONS AND PERSPECTIVES. Toronto, New York, McGraw-Hill Ryerson [1971] 170 p. illus. (McGraw-Hill series in Canadian politics)
JX1515.Z5 1971
Bibliography: p. 156-162.

Evaluates the Foreign Policy Papers published by the Canadian Government in June 1970 and the reorientation of Canadian foreign policy undertaken by Pierre Trudeau from the point of view of historical and domestic considerations and consequent foreign policy decisions. Thomson and Swanson discuss Trudeau's six "policy themes" as the guidelines for analysis of foreign-policy problems, and, while granting that the foreign-policy review was worthwhile, conclude that nothing justified the prediction that publication of the Papers "would mark a watershed in Canada's relations with the rest of the world." They note the high level of continuity in specific decisions like the recognition of Communist China but also a gradual shift in emphases and outline the tangible benefits of the review in the restructuring of the Trudeau Cabinet and the Department of External Affairs. The authors question the emphasis placed on economic growth and say that "evidently the commercial tail, not the military one, will be wagging the diplomatic dog." They suggest that since the Papers reveal Canadian uncertainty between national and international orientations, the government should make a further, more precise statement of Canadian sovereignty.

1678
Todd, Olivier. WHO'S IN CHARGE HERE? KISSINGER--THE AMERICAN WHO WANTS TO CHANGE THE WORLD. Atlas, v. 21, Apr. 1972: 28-31. illus.
AP1.A83, v. 21
Translated from Le Nouvel Observateur, Paris.
AP20.02

Henry Kissinger, professor and strategist, is the man who directs Washington's foreign policy and may, therefore, be the most influential person in the world. He presents President Nixon with data on all the options available and acts as a buffer between the President and the pressures of bureaucracy. "He considers scientific progress limitless, and the evil intentions of human beings equally so--thus the escalation of the arms race is inevitable." More than good will is required to achieve a state of détente. The United States must be ready to use force to deter threat, while atomic equality and military readiness are essential to prevent war.

1679
Trebile, Jacques. [JAPANESE-AMERICAN RELATIONS] Les relations Japon-Etats-Unis. L'ordre français, no. 159, Mar. 1972: 25-28.
DC1.072, 1972

At a time when the United States has betrayed Taiwan and the situation among its Asian allies is worsening, Washington's China policy is alienating Japan. The rapprochement with Peking is threatening Japan's political stability, and in all probability will accelerate Japanese rearmament and make Japan a nuclear power by 1980. Improving Sino-American relations are thus paralleled by a decline in Japanese-American relations, and one can only guess in view of President Nixon's recent foreign policy initiatives where he is leading the rest of the world.

1680
Trevelyan, Humphrey, Baron Trevelyan. BRITISH FOREIGN POLICY IN THE 1970S. Australian outlook, v. 25, Dec. 1971: 258-274.
DU80.A947, v. 25

Great Britain pursues its interests in a world whose essential characteristics are "the size and power of the superpowers, the fluidity of the international environment and the instability and violence of the Third World." British security is inextricably wedded to NATO and the U.S. commitment to European defense. Since it is a major aim of British policy to see that this U.S. commitment is not abandoned, respect f r America's economic problems and for U.S. policy in general must be maintained. It is imperative that Britain enter the European community, but at the same time it should be made clear to all that this European solution to British problems is not also an anti-American solution. Though it is still the object of Soviet policy to tip the balance of power in its own favor whenever the opportunity offers, German efforts toward détente should be welcomed. Lines of communication with the Chinese should also be improved. As to the Commonwealth, the British are becoming every day less inclined to sacrifice real interests for hollow prestige. The United Nations, on the other hand, for all its faults, is indispensable. But perhaps the greatest problem facing the world today is the widening gap between the developed and developing countries. To close the gap may be impossible, but that is perhaps less important to the developing states than the attainment of a state of self-sustaining growth. To assist in this should be the British aim.

1681
Tucker, Robert W. THE RADICAL LEFT AND AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY. Baltimore, Johns Hopkins Press [1971] 156 p. (Washington Center of Foreign Policy Research. Studies in international affairs, no. 15) E840.T83 1971
Includes bibliographical references.

Critique of the radical left's revisionist view of post-World War II American foreign policy and a comparison with conventional theories. The essence of the radical revisionist interpretation is that "American diplomacy has been driven throughout by self-interest, . . . and that America has behaved very much as other great nations have behaved, and that if there is a quality unique to American diplomacy it consists in the greater than usual disparity between ideals professed and behavior." Tucker asserts that radical criticism has significantly influenced conventional historiography so that a "moderate revisionist" hisotiography has emerged."

1682
U.S. Congress. Senate. Committee on Foreign Relations. FOREIGN RELATIONS AUTHORIZATION ACT OF 1972; report, together with additional views on S. 3526 to provide authorizations for certain agencies conducting the foreign relations of the United States, and for other purposes. [Washington, U.S. Govt. Print. Off., 1972] 121 p. (92d Congress, 2d session. Report no. 92-754)
DLC

Reports favorably the Senate bill to authorize appropriations for fiscal 1973 for the Department of State, the United States Information Agency, the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency (ACDA), and the Peace Corps. The Senate version authorizes $22 million for the regular function of ACDA in 1973 and 1974, and nearly $10 million in 1973 alone for the Agency's proposed new responsibility for seismic research. The committee noted the unexpectedly high cost of the Strategic Arms Limitation Talks to the Agency and the prospects for future arms control negotiations. It expressed concern that ACDA may be emphasizing negotiations at the expense of arms control research and urged ACDA to "pursue diligently its other statutory tasks, even if this should necessitate future higher funding for the Agency."

1683
U.S. Dept. of Defense. UNITED STATES-VIETNAM RELATIONS, 1945-1967; STUDY. Washington, U.S. Govt. Print. Off., 1971. 12 v. illus.
E183.8.V5A45
At head of title: [Committee print]
"Printed for the use of the House Committee on Armed Services."
"The 12-volume text here contains the first 43 volumes of the original 47-volume study."
Commonly known as the Pentagon papers.
Supt. of Docs. no.: Y4.Ar5/2:V67/3/945.

Contents.--pt. 1. Vietnam and the U.S., 1940-1950.--pt. 2. U.S. involvement in the Franco-Viet Minh War, 1950-1954.--pt. 3. The Geneva Accords.--pt. 4. Evolution of the war.--pt. 5. Justification of the war.--pt. 6. Settlement of the conflict.

A study of U.S. involvement in Vietnam from World War II to 1967 based on Defense Department, Central Intelligence Agency and State Department files.

1684
[U.S. POLICY IN THE MIDDLE EAST.] Middle East forum, summer 1971: 13-49.
DS41.M45, 1971

An Arabic version of the article by Michael C. Hudson appeared in Al-Nahar (Beirut) Aug. 3, 5 and 6, 1971. DS63.1.A5, 1971

Article by Kennett Love was an address presented at the 24th Annual Conference on World Affairs, Mar. 31, 1971, University of Colorado.

Contents.--Recent American policy in the Middle East, by Harry N. Howard.--Towards a critique of U.S. Middle East policy, by Michael C. Hudson.--The dangerous Middle East double standard, by Kennett Love.--Perceptions, politicians, and foreign policy: U.S. Senators and the Arab-Israeli problem, by Richard H. Pfaff.

Four essays on U.S. foreign policy in the Middle East. Howard concludes that along with American public opinion American policy is evolving in the direction of a more balanced, evenhanded, and realistic approach to the Arab-Israeli dispute. Hudson argues that the Arabs lack political and military "credibility" with the U.S. State Department, which, guided by a realpolitik that concedes very little to moral and legal issues, is unlikely to give the Arabs a fair deal unless they can demonstrate a capability for political and military action so formidable as to pose a threat to U.S. interests. Love argues that U.S. policy in the Middle East is governed by a pro-Israeli bias that threatens both Arab and American interests, while Pfaff analyzes the determinants of the pro-Israeli attitudes in the U.S. Senate.

1685
Wagner, Wolfgang. [PROSPECTS FOR OSTPOLITIK FOLLOWING THE CONCLUSION OF THE BERLIN NEGOTIATIONS] Aussichten der Ostpolitik nach dem Abschluss der Berlin-Verhandlungen. Europa-Archiv, v. 27, Feb. 10, 1972: 79-86.
D839.E86, v. 27

Assesses prospects for the most difficult step in West Germany's Ostpolitik: the gradual development of a system of lasting peace in Central Europe based on a settlement of the German problem. The elaboration of the Moscow and Warsaw treaties and the negotiation of the Berlin transit rights were preliminary steps toward this greater goal. Wagner forsees East German intransigence as a major obstacle. East German leadership is faced with a dilemma. Although it wants international legal recognition, internal security reasons prevent it from opening its borders to the Western influence sure to accompany normal diplomatic relations.

1686
Whetten, Lawrence L. GERMANY'S OSTPOLITIK: RELATIONS BETWEEN THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC AND THE WARSAW PACT COUNTRIES. London, New York, Oxford University Press for the Royal Institute of International Affairs, 1971. 244 p. (Oxford paperbacks, 267) DD259.4.W44 1971
Bibliography: p. 232-236.

Contents.--Introduction.--The German threat in historical perspective.--The Bucharest-Bonn-Moscow triangle: German policy and East European stability.--European security problems: the multilateral approach in West German-Warsaw Pact relations.--The historical perspective of Brandt's Ostpolitik.--The dimensions of Brandt's Ostpolitik.--The consequences of adjustment and of intransigence.--Conclusions.--Appendices.--Select bibliography.--Index.

Traces "the transition in West German relations with the Warsaw Pact countries by examining the positions of the principal states on the key divisive issues of the previous two decades: the 'German threat', regional stability, collective security, and political accommodation." Whetten concludes that in the 1970's the German problem will be marked by tensions between the two German states. In the long run the political role of West Germany and Bonn's need for security will pose important problems for Europe. The Warsaw Pact states may see West German emergence as the leading political and industrial power in Europe as a threat to their security. Because of that apprehension, the degree of security that the West possesses also becomes a major concern. In this connection "the conversion of European NATO's forces into a highly effective defensive force equipped with usable tactical nuclear weapons would be an important first step in restoring the alliance to its original purpose," providing the United States would allocate the necessary resources. A regional nuclear force could come into being based on British and French physical capabilities and West German financing. In confronting the issues of central Europe, the West must acknowledge Germany's increasing role and the concern of neighboring countries about that role.

1687
Wu, Yuan-li. COMMUNIST CHINA AND THE WORLD BALANCE OF POWER; AN ANALYSIS OF COMMUNIST CHINA'S PROSPECTS AND POLICIES AND THEIR IMPLICATIONS FOR U.S. INTERESTS. Washington, American Enterprise Institute for Public Policy Research [1971] 53 p. (American Institute for Public Policy Research. Special analysis, no. 13)
DS740.4.W84
Includes bibliographical references.

Contents.--Summary.--Introduction: Peking's seemingly changing fortunes. Factors in the world's changing balance of power. Inherent uncertainties about Peking and its intentions.--The Chinese domestic scene: Prospects for stability.

Economic impact of the cultural revolution. Strategy for development. Defense implications of new economic directions.--International implications of Peking's defense and foreign policies: Communist China's nuclear weapons program. Peking's policy of nuclear deterrence. Some basic principles. Nuclear deterrence as seen by the Chinese Communists. Types of attacks to be deterred and the nuclear arsenal required. Chinese perception of external threat. Effects on the U.S.-Soviet strategic balance and its stability. A preemptive Soviet strike against Communist China--a lost option? Other alternatives for the Soviet Union. Effects of the developing Chinese nuclear deterrence on the United States and its allies. Political, economic and technological constraints on the Chinese nuclear program.--Issues for decision. --Appendix.

Describes the recent shift in Communist China's foreign policy and its implications for U.S and Soviet policies. Wu asserts that the about-face in China's external policy stems from its perceived threat from the Soviet Union. He studies China's response to this threat, noting that Peking is attempting to deter a Soviet attack by raising its political cost through adjustments in its external policies and by accelerating its nuclear weapons program. The Soviet Union, on the other hand, "faces the problem of whether it should allow the Chinese nuclear buildup to continue without interruption." Wu concludes that a main issue for U.S. foreign policy will be to induce China to play a more constructive role in international affairs.

1688
Yahuda, Michael B. CHINA'S NEW FOREIGN POLICY. World today, v. 28, Jan. 1972: 14-22. D410.W63, v. 28

The fundamental concepts and basic approaches underlying China's foreign policy have not changed but the international environment in which China finds itself has, and the new sophisticated Chinese diplomatic style led to the invitation to President Nixon. The improvement in Sino-American relations has come about largely as the result in changes in America's Asian policy, China's fear of Japan, and Soviet activity in Asia. It is difficult to determine whether any of Peking's basic principles of foreign policy have been compromised during the new era, but there have been major purges of senior leaders in which foreign policy issues were involved. Indications are that the Chinese have lost a great deal of credibility as international revolutionaries. Chinese membership in the United Nations may yield mixed blessings in view of China's inexperience with multilateral diplomacy in an open-structured environment. Although Peking has acquired new stature in the international community without giving up any of its key positions, "the immediate strategic and international political environment has deteriorated from a Chinese point of view" as a result of the Indo-Pakistani war.

TENSION AREAS

1689
Adie, W. A. C. CHINA, ISRAEL AND THE ARABS. [London, Institute for the Study of Conflict] 1971. 18 p. illus. (Conflict studies, no. 12) D839.3.C6 no. 12
Includes bibliographical references.

Contents.--Sino-Soviet competition.--Peking's Syrian spearhead.--United front from below.--"Counter-revolutionary offensive."--June war and the commandos.--Theory and practice of the Arab guerrillas.--Conclusions.--Appendixes.

Traces Communist China's influence in the Middle East within the context of the Sino-Soviet dispute. Adie contends that China's primary objective in the region is to tie down and embroil its two main enemies, the United States and the Soviet Union. Other secondary and long-term considerations underlying Peking's initiatives in the Arab world include China's desire to deny the superpowers control of and access to the Persian Gulf and the Gulf of Aden while securing this access and control for itself. Adie concludes that the longer a Middle East settlement is delayed the greater the danger that the Arab guerrilla movement will be entirely captured by Chinese influence.

1690
Barston, Ronald P. CYPRUS: THE UNRESOLVED PROBLEM 1963-70. India quarterly, v. 27, Apr./June 1971: 114-121. illus. D410.I44, v. 27

"Examine[s] Greek-Turkish Cypriot relations between 1963 and 1967; the extent to which the internal situation in Cyprus improved after 1967; and [assesses] the possible patterns of intercommunal relations which might develop in the near future." Barston delineates several projections for Cyprus, noting that the situation there remains basically unstable in view of the emergence of the pro-enosis extremist organization, the National Front, and the attempted assassination of President Makarios.

1691
Braun, Ursula. [FACTORS OF STABILITY AND CRISIS IN THE AREA AROUND THE ARABIAN GULF] Stabilitäts- und Krisenfaktoren im Gebiet um den Arabischen Golf. Europa-Archiv, v. 27, Apr. 25, 1972: 273-284. D839.E86, v. 27

Evaluates the prospects for political stability along the Persian (Arabian) Gulf in view of the British military withdrawal, Iran's seizure of the Tumb Islands, the animosity between Iran and Iraq, the formation of the Union of Arabian Emirates, outside interests in the area's resources, and domestic backwardness and latent unrest. Despite the small American naval presence and the still-existing British "special relations" with the emirates, Anglo-American facilities in the immediate

area are inadequate for intervention in the event of major regional conflicts. "This presence demonstrates rather only a continuing interest of both states in the area vis-a-vis Soviet and possible Chinese ambitions in the Gulf region." The Soviet Union, to create an aura of trust, pursues a cautious policy, aware that, with the notable exception of Iraq, most Gulf-area states suspect Soviet motives. The Communist Chinese seem to have abandoned revolutionary movements in the area in favor of conventional contact with established authorities. Braun finds that the analogous interests of the oil-producing and oil-consuming states point to a uniform desire for stability in the area. "The greatest factor of uncertainty is whether the social reforms initiated by the [area's] leaders can be pushed forward in sufficiently uninterrupted fashion to prevent outside influence and agitation from finding fertile soil."

1692
Carta, Jerusalem. SECURE AND RECOGNIZED BOUNDARIES; ISRAEL'S RIGHT TO LIVE IN PEACE WITHIN DEFENSIBLE FRONTIERS; ELEMENTS IN THE CONSIDERATION OF ISRAEL'S POSITION ON THE QUESTION OF BOUNDARIES. [Jerusalem, 1971] 48 p. illus.
DS127.6.T4C37

Partial contents.--Introduction.--History.--The strategic factor.--Territorial changes--the European example.

Recounts the history of Israel's boundaries, clarifying the current discussions about the "secure and recognized" borders as called for in the November 22, 1967 Security Council resolution. Carta contends that the most significant factor affecting the border dispute between Israel and the Arab countries is that the latter not only continue to insist that a state of war exists in the region, but refuse to recognize the very existence of Israel as a state. "A concluding section devoted to boundary changes in Europe supplies the background of general international practice in such matters."

1693
Chakravarti, Prithwis C. THE EVOLUTION OF INDIA'S NORTHERN BORDERS. New York, Asia Pub. House [c1971] 179 p. illus.
DS446.3.C515

"Issued under the auspices of the Indian Council World Affairs."
Bibliography: p. 165-170.

Contents.--Foreword, by S. L. Poplai.--Preface.--The background.--Eastern sector.--Central sector.--Western sector.--Conclusion.--Bibliography.--Index.

Surveys the historic and legal bases for the northern boundaries of India. Chakravarti concludes that the historic demarcation of the border along the watershed line of the highest crests of the northern mountain ranges--the position advocated by India--is consistent with customary international law and practice. He rejects the idea of territorial concessions and asserts that the "rapid enhancement of India's internal strength and defence capability and forging of closer ties with powers which are as concerned about Chinese expansionism as we are," must be the Indian response to Chinese border claims.

1694
Elliot, R. S. P., and John Hickie. ULSTER, A CASE STUDY IN CONFLICT THEORY. New York, St. Martin's Press [1972, c1971] 180 p. illus.
DA990.U46E4 1972
Includes bibliographical references.

Contents.--Introduction.--Conflict theory and methods in Great Britain.--Background to the conflict in Ulster.--The theory of intercommunal conflict.--Fieldwork.--The identification of parties and issues to a conflict.--The results and Northern Ireland.--Some theoretical implications of the results.--Appendix 1: Basic issues.--Appendix 2: Disputes to the conflict and the attitudes of the formal political grouping to them.--Appendix 3: Disputes determined by the intercorrelation of issues.--Appendix 4: Crisis perception hypotheses.--Index.

"Describes one of the first attempts in the comparatively new discipline of conflict research to analyse an ongoing conflict situation through standardised interviews with leaders of all the interested parties." Members of a four-man interview team conducted a confidential 12-question, open-ended interview with 50 Northern Ireland political leaders, while 15 Irish leaders in Dublin were similarly interviewed. Elliot and Hickie describe themselves as inclined "to view conflict as the direct output of the social structure," for they found that the nature of the conflict determined to a large extent the life-styles and attitudes of their respondents. "If conflict resolution is the long-term aim of conflict research, then it follows that resolution in such areas as this will rely on detailed knowledge of local social patterns; the sort of knowledge that is derived from survey data."

1695
FCA [Forschungsdienst China-Archiv] [FIRST WAR FOR THE FUTURE OF SOUTH ASIA AND THE THREE WORLD POWERS] Erster Krieg um Südasiens Zukunft und die drei Weltmächte. China-Analysen, v. 11, Jan. 1972: 2-5. DS701.C356, v. 11

Through its support of New Delhi before and during the Indo-Pakistani war the Soviet Union won the first round in the struggle for South and Southeast Asia. The United States and China lost that round by backing Islamabad. The defeat and dismemberment of Pakistan destroyed the balance of

power that Washington had counted on for the preservation of peace on the subcontinent. India's victory made New Delhi the predominant power in the area and edged it closer toward becoming a client state of Moscow. India will therefore become the center stage in the coming round of the struggle. China, which refrained from assisting Pakistan because of the hopelessness of the latter's position and the unfavorable impact Chinese intervention would have had on Third World states, will sponsor and finance a Maoist opposition movement in Bangla Desh. The United States, for its part, will have to repair its relations with India and prevent it from becoming totally dependent on the Soviet Union. The new situation in South Asia is certain to intensify the Sino-Soviet dispute.

1696
FCA [Forschungsdienst China-Archiv] [REINFORCED PEKING-HANOI AXIS IN LIGHT OF THE NIXON VISIT] Bekräftigte Achse Peking-Hanoi im Zeichen des Nixonbesuchs. China-Analysen, v. 11, Jan. 1972: 7-8.
DS701.C356, v. 11

To allay North Vietnamese fears of an ideological sellout stemming from the announcement of President Nixon's visit to Peking, China identified itself ever more closely with the intransigent demands of Hanoi for an American capitulation. Peking and Hanoi reduced past Communist peace proposals to two points: the complete liquidation of the American presence in Indochina and Washington's renunciation of any support for the "Thieu and Lon-Nol cliques" and for Laotian rightist factions. To convince Hanoi of its steadfastness, Peking even appeared to acknowledge the legitimacy of North Vietnam interest in Laos and Cambodia. Although China went to every length to publicize its support for North Vietnam, the latter complained that Peking's promises exceeded its deliveries. The Sino-Soviet reconciliation next proposed by Hanoi met no favor in Peking. Still desirous of convincing the North Vietnamese of their sincerity, the Chinese intensified their propaganda campaign against the United States as if to say that little can be expected from the talks with President Nixon.

1697
Furlong, R. D. M. STRATEGIC POWER IN THE INDIAN OCEAN. International defense review, v. 5, Apr. 1972: 133-140. illus.
N&CPR

Examines "the existing state of strategic affairs in the Indian Ocean, with particular reference to the extent of Soviet penetration and, tentatively, what counter-action by the West may be desirable and possible at this stage." Though the Soviet Union has had some success in penetrating the area and increasing its political and military power there, the situation is still fluid with no one power or combination of powers in a position of dominance. However, with the drawdown of U.S. forces from this and adjacent regions, Japan and the Western European powers that have a special stake in the security of this area must assume a larger share of the political and military burden. A joint naval task force would be a good way to meet this need. American restraint in the deployment of strategic weapons to the area would prevent further naval escalation, and might even pave the way to mutual force reductions at a later date.

1698
Heradstveit, Daniel. A PROFILE OF THE PALESTINE GUERRILLAS. Cooperation and conflict, no. 1, 1972: 13-36. DL55.C66, 1972

The objectives and strategy of the Palestine guerrilla movement as well as the immediate problems faced by it are analysed. It is concluded that future development will depend on the internal evolution of the guerrilla movement which is confronted with serious internal power struggles. Developments will also be determined by the future pattern of politics among the Arab States. The Arab world including the Palestinians themselves is divided over whether or not to support the Palestine guerrilla movement, and about the form and extent of any such support. (Abstract supplied)

1699
Hess, Peter. SOUTHEAST ASIA AND PEKING. Swiss review of world affairs, v. 22, Apr. 1972: 2-3.
D839.S9, v. 22

The improvement in relations between the United States and Communist China foreshadows a kind of mutual disengagement from Southeast Asia making possible the avoidance of a Sino-American confrontation in the region. Although Peking still strives to persuade its Asian neighbors to follow the Chinese standard, "it now seems more prepared to grant those countries the right to go their own way and also to accept a certain amount of influence by other powers." In Indochina, however, Chinese pressure continues, and the stability of the countries of this area is threatened by their internal problems and weaknesses. The United States would welcome a neutralization of Southeast Asia since it is no longer willing to play the role of world policeman. The Sino-American rapprochement is aimed at limiting the Soviet Union's influence in Southeast Asia. So far only India has accepted the Soviet Union as America's successor in the role of patron. Nevertheless, a limited expansion of Soviet activity in the region could deter Peking if it should begin making excessive demands of its Asian neighbors in the future.

1700
Kimche, Jon. NEW SOVIET MOVES IN THE MIDDLE EAST. Midstream, v. 18, Apr. 1972: 3-11.
DS149.A336, v. 18

In January and February 1972 the Soviet Union radically transformed the strategic-diplomatic balance in the Middle East by a series of moves designed to encircle Israel politically and militarily and build Soviet strength in the area. Prior to the May 1972 summit conference between the Soviet Union and the United States, Moscow plans to have concluded treaties of friendship with Egypt, Iraq, Syria, South Yemen, the Somali Democratic Republic, and perhaps Libya and Malta which will challenge the basis of American Israeli policy in the Middle East.

1701
Matthey, Ferdinand, comp. [DEVELOPMENT OF THE BERLIN QUESTION (1944-1971)] Entwicklung der Berlin-Frage (1944-1971). Berlin, New York, De Gruyter, 1972. 291 p. (Aktuelle Dokumente)
JX4084.B38M3

Collection of 86 documents tracing the history of the Berlin question from the 1944 London Protocol establishing occupation zones and the administration of Greater Berlin to the December 1971 supplementary agreements to the four-power Berlin accord. Matthey asserts that the 1971 agreements express the good will on both sides and represent for the Federal Republic an important step toward détente in Europe.

1702
Motsoana, Mavuso. THE SITUATION IN SOUTHERN AFRICA: WHAT ARE THE PERSPECTIVES? Review of international affairs, v. 22, Dec. 20, 1971: 9-10, 19-20.
D839.R4, v. 22

The Republic of South Africa, Rhodesia and the Portuguese colonies in south Africa are today bastions of fascism, racism and colonialism. Surrounded by these white minority dictatorships are three islands of peace and independence, Lesotho, Botswana, and Swaziland, which are all economically dependent on South Africa for communication lines, jobs and trade routes. The white racist regime in South Africa has lasted for almost four hundred years because it holds a central position in the Western imperialist system. South Africa is the Trojan horse for imperialist reinvestment of exploitive capital in support of African colonialism. South African colonialism is sustained by the strong economic and military power resulting from its wealth of mineral resources, cheap labor, foreign investments, and by its more recent massive military buildup in counterinsurgency weapons and techniques. The Western powers fear African liberation wars because of their enormous investment in the area and the strategic importance of the Cape of Good Hope port facilities for Western shipping. "Powerful as South Africa may seem, she still remains a very weak link in the chain of imperialist reaction" and it is only a matter of time before the war of liberation erupts.

1703
Muraise, Éric. [PACIFIC 1980] Pacifique 80. Revue militaire générale; general military review, May 1971: 603-623. illus.
U2.R48, 1971
Includes summaries in English and German.

Discusses the politicomilitary factors in the relations between China and Japan that could affect the future Asian balance of power. Muraise warns that China will move into Mongolia, toward the direction of the Indian Ocean, in reaction to its continued population growth and the subsequent desire for empire. Japan, on the other hand, will probably go nuclear by 1980. Muraise concludes that the situation in Asia is becoming more tense and more perilous because the "rules" of classical and atomic deterrence are different for Orientals in that human life is not as highly valued there as in the West.

1704
Palmer, Norman D. THE NEW ORDER IN SOUTH ASIA. Orbis, v. 15, winter 1972: 1109-1121.
D839.068, v. 15

The military defeat of Pakistan has made India the dominant power in South Asia. The new state of Bangla Desh will be heavily dependent on India for its economic survival, and it remains to be seen whether the government will be able to cope with the basic problems of development and survival. West Pakistan will have to make a painful readjustment if it is to survive in the new order. The outlook for South Asia will depend upon whether patterns of cooperation can be developed or whether old antagonisms will continue. In any case the region will almost certainly remain a troubled area for some time to come. Communist China was the short-term loser. Unless the United States and other nations understand the implications of recent developments in South Asia, there will be serious repercussions.

1705
Park, Joon-kyu. THE VICISSITUDES OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS AND UNIFICATION POLICY. Koreana quarterly, v. 13, winter 1971: 8-18.
DS901.K89, v. 13
"Presented at the International Symposium on Korean Unification which was held by the National Unification Research Center, Yeungnam University at the Conference Room of the National Unification Board, Seoul, October 18-23, 1971."

In East Asia, a political equilibrium with the Korean peninsula at its core is being established as a four-power balance of the United States, the Soviet Union, Japan, and China. Solution of the Korean question is the necessary prerequisite to such a harmonious balance. Korea thus finds itself in a position to become a subjective factor in international politics, playing a stabilizing role in East Asia. Through separate dealings with

the powers encouraging the benefits of reduced tension, South Korea should attempt to induce the demilitarization of North Korea and isolate it from the Communist camp. "Korea's future unification policy may well be advised to amend the hitherto UN-diplomacy-centered approach and proceed toward the direction of subjective diplomacy and multilateral approach" toward the four powers. The successful implementation of these policies implies South Korean success in its competition with North Korea. De-emphasis of the military element in the East Asian sphere means a universal, not one-sided, relaxation of confrontation and a normalization of relations.

1706
PEACE-KEEPING AND DEVELOPMENT IN SOUTH EAST ASIA; report of a conference at Ditchley Park 4-7 December 1970, by C. F. O. Clarke, Conference Rapporteur. Ditchley Park, Eng., Ditchley Foundation [1970] 43 p. (Ditchley paper no. 34)
DS518.1.P43

Examines the future of Southeast Asia in light of American withdrawal from the Vietnam war, the Nixon doctrine, British military presence under the five-power defense arrangements, and economic, developmental, and political relations with the West. The future political, strategic, economic and social policies of the United States and Britain towards Southeast Asia were reviewed by the conferees. They agreed that a negotiated settlement of the Vietnam war is as "improbable" as a total Communist victory and that though the Western powers are not likely to abandon the area, an American response to a new military challenge there cannot be predicted.

1707
Radivojević, Dragomir. THE EASTERN MEDITERRANEAN--THE ZONE OF GREATEST TENSION BETWEEN THE BLOCS. Review of international affairs, v. 22, Nov. 20, 1971: 18-20.
D839.R4, v. 22

Assesses the Cyprus crisis within the framework of the politicostrategic situation in the eastern Mediterranean. Because of their competition for strategic bases in the area the superpowers have increased tension and limited the scope of activity of the independent and nonalined nations of the region.

1708
RESOLVING CONFLICT IN AFRICA; THE FERMEDA WORKSHOP. Leonard W. Doob, editor [and others] New Haven, Yale University Press, 1970. xvii, 209 p. illus.
DT365.62.R47
Includes bibliographical references.

Contents.--Preface, by Leonard W. Doob.--Planning the workshop, by Leonard W. Doob.--The African context and the schedule, by Thomas A. Wickes. --Appraisal by a Somali, by Yousuf Jama Ali Duhul. --Appraisal by a Kenyan, by John J. Okumu.--Appraisal by an Ethiopian, by Andreas Eshete.--Appraisal by three Americans, by Leonard W. Doob, William J. Foltz, and Robert B. Stevens.--Appraisal by a trainer, by Charles K. Ferguson.--Strategic issues in designing workshops, by Richard E. Walton.--Toward a solution? by Leonard W. Doob, William J. Foltz, and Robert B. Stevens.--Appendix 1: The consent of the participants and of governments, by Leonard W. Doob.--Appendix 2: Recent history of workshops in Africa, by Thomas A. Wickes.--Appendix 3: The parliamentary group and the T-group, by William J. Crockett.--Appendix 4: Unobtrusive measures, by Leonard W. Doob and William J. Foltz.--Appendix 5: Survey of reactions, by Leonard W. Doob and William J. Foltz.

Reports on a two-week gathering in August 1969 at the South Tyrolean hotel Fermeda attended by eighteen Africans formed into sensitivity-training groups "to ascertain whether in the detached and permissive atmosphere of a workshop the participants might express and then modify some of their attitudes and values, improve their communication skills, reveal the deeper psychological or emotional issues in the [Ethiopian-Somali and Kenyan-Somali border] disputes, and thus move closer to an innovative resolution." Also present were four American professional workshop trainers and three American organizers from Yale University. On the basis of the attitudes brought out at Fermeda, Doob, Foltz, and Stevens propose establishment of a Joint Administration Area to be annexed eventually by Somalia in return for alliance with Ethiopia and trading concessions to Kenya.

1709
Rush, Kenneth. THE BERLIN AGREEMENT: AN ASSESSMENT. Atlantic community quarterly, v. 10, spring 1972: 52-65. D839.A85, v. 10
"Adapted from an address delivered at a meeting of the Industrie und Handelskammer zu Berlin."

The Berlin Agreement is an outgrowth of the determination of the Four Powers to eliminate Berlin as a potential source of East-West conflict. The agreement, which, be it said, applies to the whole of the city and not, as some critics maintain, to the Western sectors only, is in the interest of all the powers as well as the Berliners themselves. By agreement, the legal status of the city has not been altered. The Federal Republic is forbidden to exercise direct state authority over the Western sectors and must reduce its "demonstrative presence" in the city. But its access rights have been reaffirmed and its authority to develop its ties with the city and represent its interests abroad has been strengthened. Besides contributing materially to the welfare of the West Berliners, the agreement should have a positive effect on other East-West talks, including efforts to improve the overall relationship between East and West Germany, convoke a security conference, and negotiate mutual and balanced force reductions. The agreement does not, however, consti-

tute a definitive solution to the problems of Berlin or Western Europe. In particular, it does not justify further U.S. troop reductions. In this transitional period, vigilance is, if anything, more necessary than ever.

1710
Sagner, Fred. [THE MILITARY POTENTIAL OF THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA] Das militärische Potential der VR China. Aussenpolitik, v. 23, Feb. 1972: 65-74. illus. D839.A885, v. 23

Explores the capabilities of the opposing forces along the Sino-Soviet border and examines the likelihood of a war between the Soviet Union and China. Although the political tensions continue undiminished with little prospect of relaxation, Sagner finds that strength figures do not appear to have reached the degree of saturation that might give reason to fear wholesale hostilities. The Chinese forces appear capable of resisting a conventional attack, and the incipient Chinese nuclear deterrent is already sufficient to maul Soviet industrial areas east of the Urals. For the present, Sagner concludes, both sides prefer to utilize their border deployment forces to exert pressure and counter-pressure upon each other.

1711
Saran, Vimla. SINO-SOVIET SCHISM; A BIBLIOGRAPHY, 1956-1964. New York, Asia Pub. House [c1971] 162 p. Z6465.C6S25 1971
"Issued under the auspices of the School of International Studies, Jawaharlal Nehru University."

Compilation of Communist and non-Communist materials on the origins and development of the Sino-Soviet dispute. Where the original language was other than English, the English translation is cited together with the original source. The three parts cover the theoretical aspects of the dispute, the role played by other national parties and Communist international organizations, and the schism's impact on international relations in general and on specific countries and issues.

1712
Schoeps, Hans J. [ARAB AND ISRAELI NATIONALISM] Arabischer und israelischer Nationalismus. Frankfurter Hefte; Zeitschrift für Kultur und Politik, v. 27, Jan. 1972: 23-30. AP30.F555, v. 27

Critique of the Communist theory that the dispute between Arab nationalism and Zionism is an anticolonial struggle of Afro-Asian countries against an imperialist and military power. Schoeps finds, however, that nationalistic forces within Zionism and anti-Jewish elements within the Arab nationalist movement make any Middle East panacea difficult. The beginning of a political settlement postulates Arab recognition of the fact of Israel and a willingness to negotiate with its leaders coupled with Israeli readiness to return the territories it occupied during the six-day war. Zionists who want to negotiate with the Arabs would have to abandon the notion that the Jews are a state and accept the idea of a pluralistic Israel. Since the forces of nationalism are apparently stronger than the desire for peaceful coexistence in a single state, Schoeps sees the expedient solution to be the preservation of Israel and the creation of a Palestinian state. The two states would have to be distinct from one another but collaborators in matters of foreign policy, defense, and trade. Even this solution, Schoeps warns, requires a concerted policy on the part of outside powers, primarily the United States and the Soviet Union.

1713
Slonim, Shlomo. THE U.S., THE INDIAN-PAKISTANI WAR AND THE MIDDLE EAST. Midstream, v. 18, Mar. 1972: 3-7. illus. DS149.A336, v. 18

The conduct of the United States and the Soviet Union in the Indo-Pakistani war can indicate the likely outcome of a future Middle East crisis. A great power confrontation did not occur in the Indo-Pakistani dispute because the United States did not have economic and strategic interests or a concentration of power there as it does in the Middle East. In the fighting the United States "was under no obligation to intervene nor was it in any position to act." Neither the Soviet Union nor the United States equates the Middle East to the Indo-Pakistani situation. The Soviet commitment to Egypt is somewhat less substantive now that the Soviet Union is faced "with two critical fronts simultaneously--the Middle East, with its potential for United States involvement, and India, with its potential for Chinese involvement." Though Israel has no formal pact with the United States, the Indo-Pakistani war has substantially improved Israel's security by heightening the identity of interests between the United States and Israel.

1714
Stewart-Smith, Geoffrey. BRANDT'S SECRET STRATEGY: THE DESTRUCTION OF NATO? East West digest, v. 8, Mar. 1972: 161-166. illus. N&CPR

Britain must not sign the Final Quadripartite Agreement on Berlin until the contents of the meetings between Walter Scheel and A. Gromyko in July 1970, Egon Bahr and Gromyko in early 1970, and Willy Brandt and Leonid Brezhnev in September 1971 are revealed. The 1970 Moscow and Polish treaties with West Germany and the 1971 Berlin Agreement cause concern in West Europe over the way unilateral concessions have been made to the Warsaw Pact states. The secret contents of the Brandt-Brezhnev meeting reveal that Brandt assented to the destruction of NATO by agreeing to proclaim West Germany neutral and remove foreign

troops. "Now if Britain is to join in a political union with the European Community in which the German Federal Republic is the largest and most powerful member, it is vital that we should know the exact standing of the secret annexures to the treaties which she has entered into with the Soviet Union."

1715
Thee, Marek. U.S.-CHINESE RAPPROCHEMENT AND VIETNAM. Journal of peace research, no. 1, 1972: 63-67. AS9.J6, 1972

The first direct test of the U.S.-Chinese rapprochement is Vietnam, where "a hopeless, open-ended conflict is certainly not in the plans of the Nixon administration." The President seeks to end American ground involvement by having Hanoi's allies pressure it. Moscow, although willing to act as mediator, has been unable to exert that pressure, so it is now Peking's turn. With its memories of the 1954 Geneva negotations, when the Chinese and the Russians colluded to force the Vietnamese to make major concessions, Hanoi maintains a vigilant skepticism vis-a-vis Peking and Moscow. It would be sad to see the great powers again conspire to settle their differences at the expense of a small country. Prospects for détente, however, may well vanish if the Vietnam conflict continues to remain unresolved. "The new shift of forces has brought the world back to high seas of 'balance of power' politics which in history had always evil consequences and has led to war."

1716
Theodoulou, Christos A. [SOME ASPECTS OF THE PRESENT CRISIS IN CYPRUS] Quelques aspects de la crise chypriote actuelle. Politique étrangère, v. 37, no. 2, 1972: 221-233. JX3.P6, v. 37

The situation in Cyprus, where the 1960 constitution has proved inapplicable, has become the subject of negotiations between the Turkish and Greek Cypriot communities. An agreement seems possible as far as the legislature, executive, and judiciary are concerned. The impasse is on the question of local government, with the Greek Cypriots fearing partition, and the Turkish Cypriots fearing enosis. (Translation of supplied abstract)

1717
Trevelyan, Humphrey, Baron Trevelyan. PROBLEMS OF THE MIDDLE EAST. Australian outlook, v. 25, Dec. 1971: 243-258. DU80.A947, v. 25

Country-by-country survey of the political situation in the Middle East. The economics and politics of oil, the Arab-Israeli dispute, pan-Arabism, and the role of outside powers, especially the Soviet Union and Great Britain, are discussed. Oil and instability assure that the Middle East will continue to be a center of world attention for some time to come. The Russians, in seeking to promote this instability, which is to their benefit as long as it does not lead to a direct confrontation with the United States, have found that their most useful political weapon is open and active support of the Arabs against Israel. Trevelyan thinks that real gains will be difficult to come by, however, as evidenced by the circumstance that so far the Soviet Union has failed to control either the domestic or foreign policy of even a single Arab state.

1718
Verfürth, Heinz. [REGIONALISM AS A WAY OUT FOR SOUTHEAST ASIA?] Regionalismus als Ausweg für Südostasien? Aussenpolitik, v. 23, Feb. 1972: 75-85. D839.A885, v. 23

The American withdrawal from Southeast Asia, the increase in Soviet interest and Japanese expansion in the area, and the emergence of China as a superpower and concerned neighbor have prompted interest in, if not a headlong movement toward, a regional approach to the area's problems. This approach might seek either to balance out the interests of the four competing outside powers or to neutralize the area. The problem is complicated by the different objective each power pursues in Southeast Asia. The United States wants political stability and preservation of the status quo. The Soviet Union wants a southern peripheral base for its confrontation with China. Japan needs the area to meet the demands of economic expansion. Finally, China wants to prevent the three more industrialized rivals from acquiring too firm a foothold. Therefore, neutralization of the area is probably the most workable arrangement. By allaying Chinese apprehensions that either the United States or the Soviet Union might set up areas of influence, it would relieve Peking of the necessity of establishing a competing satellite system.

1719
Vital, David. THE SURVIVAL OF SMALL STATES: STUDIES IN SMALL POWER/GREAT POWER CONFLICT. London, Oxford University Press, 1971. 136 p. JC365.V54

Analyzes the dynamic relationship between the small and great powers and the problem of the small state confronted by a major power. In theorizing on the limits of maneuverability of a small power in conflict with a great power Vital discusses three conflict paradigms: the confrontation of Czechoslovakia and Germany in 1938; the contemporary case of Israel versus the Soviet Union unfolding within the intricacies of regional and East-West conflicts; and the conflict between Finland and the Soviet Union. The last has gone through stages like those of the other paradigms to become a modus vivendi in the present and a paradigm of the future.

1720
Wahby, Mohammed. ARAB QUEST FOR PEACE. Bombay, Orient Longman [1971] 202 p. illus.
DS119.7.W3
Includes bibliographical references.

Partial contents.--Preface.--Prologue.--India and Palestine.--The two-nation theory.--The June war.--Crisis of American conscience.--From bewilderment into action.--Recovering lost elan.--Resistance, not terrorism.--The perilous link-up.--Israel's logic boomerangs.--Drunk with power.--Pattern of aggression.--To be or not to be.--Silence over Suez.--The six-day war and the Arab revolution.--Israel's new year gift.--Not hawkish enough.--Apparel of innocence.--Israel and the Big Four.--Palestine in perspective.--The inevitable hang-over.--Misplaced power.--Total challenge.--The choice before President Nixon.--The changing Arab scene.--Balance of power or balance of interests?--Appendixes.

Outlines the steps that will have to be taken to remove the mutual distrust in the Middle East and to pave the way for a peaceful settlement. Wahby asserts that a solution must involve the establishment of a secular and democratic Palestine State.

1721
Weisl, Wolfgang von. [THE MIDDLE EAST WAR--IN THE SECOND YEAR AFTER NASSER] Der Nahostkrieg--im zweiten Jahr nach Nasser. Allgemeine schweizerische Militärzeitschrift, v. 138, Feb. 1972: 67-71. U3.A43, v. 138

Why does not Israel heed international advice to settle the Middle East conflict by withdrawing to its 1967 frontiers and accepting big-power or U.N. guarantees for its security? The answer is simply that Israel does not believe that the other side would honor any agreements. Israel rejects the "partial-settlement" approach urged by the United States because no Arab country is willing to pledge a formal peace treaty or even enter into direct negotiations. Furthermore, there are no Arab governments sufficiently stable to assure a continuation of policy. The reason that Israel talks about negotiating the conflict is to win time and to avoid the open warfare that would cost lives Jerusalem cannot spare. Time is also an important consideration for Egypt, for war with Israel brings with it not only the risk of defeat but in the event of victory the final day of reckoning with Moscow. As long as the current state of non-peace holds, the Arabs will continue to receive modern weapons from the Soviet Union at negligible or deferred costs. The Soviet Union also profits from this non-peace in that it avoids the humiliation that would accompany an Arab defeat and the demand for the withdrawal of its military presence that would surely follow an Arab victory.

1722
Windsor, Philip. GERMANY AND THE MANAGEMENT OF DÉTENTE. New York, Praeger, for the Institute for Strategic Studies [1971] 207 p. (Studies in international security, 15)
DD259.4.W487 1971
Includes bibliographical references.

Contents.--Preface.--The nature of détente.--The fragmentation of German interests.--The attempts at compromise.--Lengthening perspectives in the East.--The two Germanies.--The management of détente.--Postface.--Index.

Examines the relations between West Germany and Eastern Europe in terms of the development of the two German states and the pattern of relations in Eastern Europe. The management of détente, Windsor concludes, has not yet acquired the finesse necessary for a favorable interaction of the regulation of the strategic balance, the exercise of Soviet hegemony in Eastern Europe, and the German problem. Negative interaction, however, can be avoided. Because of the differences between the strategic checkmate and the politics of European security, it is now possible to conceive a relationship between the alliances, where "the pursuit of strategic understanding and a certain stand-off in the strategic arms race can be combined with what Mr. [Zbigniew] Brzezinski characterized as 'some East-West security relationships between the two existing but looser alliances.'"

1723
Zinkin, Maurice. THE POLITICAL AFTERMATH OF THE INDO-PAKISTAN WAR. Survival, v. 14, Mar./Apr. 1972: 54-57. U162.S9, v. 14

Outlines the effects of the Indo-Pakistani war on those countries involved directly or indirectly. Bangladesh will become politically stable if its government remains intact and if it receives adequate international aid. West Pakistan's main economic loss was the market for its industries, and the chief problem is the maintenance of its army without adequate revenue. India is now the dominant power in the area but its new power is unlikely to be extensively employed. Zinkin contends that on the whole the Soviet Union emerged the victor and the United States the loser. However, if President Nixon's attitude toward New Dehli changes, there is a good chance that Indo-American relations will improve. Zinkin calls for closer relations between India and Europe as a means for preventing New Delhi and Dacca from becoming too dependent on the Soviet Union. European friendship will be specially needed in case of a reduction of American aid to India.

THE STRATEGIC ENVIRONMENT

MODERN WAR

1724
Clarke, Robin. THE SCIENCE OF WAR AND PEACE. New York, McGraw-Hill [1972] 335 p.
U21.2.C53 1971b

Contents.--Introduction: The war explosion.--The nuclear future.--Missiles and the moon.--Military control of the oceans.--The environment wreckers.--Science in the warfare state.--The psychology of aggression.--The natural history of war.--The science of conflict.--Revolution and change.--Epilogue: The technology explosion.--Sources.

Presents various aspects of the problem of war and the search for peace. Clarke puts much of the blame for the rash of troubles that plague modern man--overpopulation and pollution as well as nuclear war--on unplanned and ill-conceived uses of technology. Present uncritical attitudes toward science and technology must be changed and their tendency to overmaster nature and even man himself brought under control.

1725
Divale, William T., comp. WARFARE IN PRIMITIVE SOCIETIES; A SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY. Los Angeles, Center for the Study of Armament and Disarmament, California State College, 1971. 55 p. (California. State College, Los Angeles. Center for the Study of Armament and Disarmament. Bibliography series, no. 2) Z5118.W3D57

Contents.--pt. 1. Topical: Primitive warfare. Anthropologists on modern warfare. Demographic factors. Biological aspects. Territorial and economic factors. Psychological factors. Feuding. Peace and peacemaking. Colonial pacification. Law and order. Head hunting. Cannibalism. Scalping and war trophies. War ceremonies. Military organization, defense, costumes. Weapons: general.--pt. 2. Geographical: North America. South America. Africa. Middle East (including North Africa). Europe and the Soviet Union. Asia and India. Oceania.

A 1348-item bibliography on warfare between societies at primitive levels of social development. As a result of the pacification of most primitive peoples by colonial governments primitive warfare has become largely a thing of the past. However, a study of its chief features still can reflect much light on modern conflict behavior, especially the origin and causes of aggression and its expression in human culture. The editor's brief essay offers a general introduction to the field.

1726
Enahoro, Peter. AFRICA'S FORGOTTEN WARS. Africa (London) no. 7, Mar. 1972: 18-20. illus.
HF46.A25, 1972

Contrary to popular opinion, African guerrilla movements cannot convincingly prove that they are effectively removing white domination in southern Africa even eleven years after they began with the Angolan revolt against Portuguese colonialism. The guerrilla struggles in Angola, Mozambique and Guinea-Bissau have all bogged down into stalemates. The credibility of the African guerrillas is questioned because of their tendency to make exaggerated claims of success, and the well-known sympathy of the reporters for the guerrillas. Some of the difficulties plaguing the guerrillas involve unlimited Portuguese access to weapons through NATO, lip-service only from the big powers in support of the guerrillas, the lack of protective terrain in many areas, declining morale from prolonged war, the lack of preparation of the people for the struggle, the fanaticism of the white supremacists, and the reluctance of the African states to actively support the guerrillas. The Liberation Committee of the Organization of African Unity has been in decline since its formation in 1963. "The succession of leadership, rivalries, ideological conflicts, ethnic clashes and the desertions within the liberation movements have been embarrassing" and can only hearten the white colonial regimes.

1727
GUERRILLA WARFARE. Africa today, v. 19, winter 1972: 92 p. illus.
DT1.A22, v. 19
Entire issue devoted to guerrilla warfare.

Partial contents.--The future of guerrilla-revolution in southern Africa, by J. Bowyer Bell.--Guerrilla warfare in southern Africa: myth and prognosis, by Henry B. Masauko Chipembere.--The reality of guerrilla warfare, by Davis M'gabe.--Guerrilla warfare: then, now and tomorrow, by Edward A. Hawley.--American military aid to Ethiopia and Eritrean insurgency, by Robert A. Diamond and David Fouquet.--The British-Rhodesian agreement and United States policy, by Michael F. Lofchie.

Articles examining the problems and prospects of guerrilla warfare in southern Africa. The general consensus is that this part of Africa will be

plagued by guerrilla warfare for some time to come.

1728
Higham, Robin, comp. CIVIL WARS IN THE TWENTIETH CENTURY. Lexington, University Press of Kentucky, 1972. 260 p. illus.
D431.H54
Bibliography: p. 229-257.
Sponsored by the National Security Program of New York University in cooperation with the National Strategy Information Center of New York.

Contents.--Nations experiencing civil wars, 1900-1970.--Editor's introduction, by Robin Higham.--Civil war, internal war, and intrasocietal conflict: a taxonomy and typology, by Martin Edmonds.--Civil warfare: an American legacy, by Jim Dan Hill.--Armed forces in peacetime, civil action, civil war, and revolution, by Robin Higham. --The Latin American legacy: the background for civil war, by James C. Carey.--Diplomacy from the inside: Russia in the civil war of 1918-1920, by Robert D. Warth.--Internal political problems and loyalties: the Republican side in the Spanish civil war, by Edward E. Malefakis.--Diplomacy from the outside: American intervention in Vietnam, by Norman A. Graebner.--Peacekeeping by outsiders: the U.N. Congo Expeditionary Force, by Ernest W. Lefever.--The impact of external war: the demise of Chiang's China, by Pao-chin Chu.--Tribalism and humanitarianism: the Nigerian-Biafran civil war, by Clarence C. Clendenen.--Economic aspects of the Nigerian civil war, by E. Wayne Nafziger.--Civil war and arms sales: The Nigerian-Biafran war and other cases, by Martin Edmonds.--Societal patterns and lessons: the Irish case, by J. Bowyer Bell.--Selected bibliography.--The contributors.

Analyzes aspects of the nature of modern civil war by examination of particular conflicts. Higham notes that "civil war differs from all other revolutionary activity in being essentially, though not invariably, the work of right-wing reactionaries or conservatives seeking to keep arbitrary freedoms they enjoy or think they are entitled to exercise." The bibliography unites the bibliographies prepared by the contributors with a general bibliography collected by the editor.

1729
Janowitz, Morris. THE DECLINE OF THE MASS ARMY. In U.S. Command and General Staff College, Fort Leavenworth. Military review, v. 52, Feb. 1972: 10-16. illus. Z6723.U35, v. 52

The mass conscription army is at the end of the road in the West, advanced industrialism having undermined both its technological and its sociopolitical basis. The mass army was the military expression of the nationalist ideologies of the American and French revolutions and rested on an organizational structure designed to exploit the most modern forms of transport and firepower. With the invention of nuclear weapons and the spread of "hedonism, personal expression, opposition to the style of life of the military establishment, resistance to military authority, plus a new, diffuse, moral criticism," the mass army lost its technical and political rationale. This leaves the nation faced with two great unanswered questions: how to recruit, educate, compensate, and organize an all-volunteer force adequate to security needs; and how to adapt and redeploy this force in a way that will articulate with a responsible foreign policy. The civilian leadership has an obligation to provide active direction to the military in this transitional period and especially "to help it to understand that peacekeeping through a military presence, deterrence, and participation in the control of national emergencies is the modern definition of the heroic role."

1730
Kirk-Greene, Anthony H. M. CRISIS AND CONFLICT IN NIGERIA; A DOCUMENTARY SOURCEBOOK 1966-1970. London, Oxford University Press, 1971. 2 v. (459, 528 p.) illus. DT515.9.E3K56
Bibliography: v. 2, p. 482-518.

Contents.--v. 1. January 1966-July 1967: January 1966: the political prologue. Coups and aftermath: January 1966-July 1967. Documents: January 1966-July 1967.--v. 2. July 1967-January 1970: War and peace: July 1967-January 1970. Documents: July 1967-January 1970. Epilogue. Nigeria 1966-1970; an outline calendar of events. Bibliography. List of documents.

Reviews the origins and events of the 1967-1970 Nigerian civil war, reproducing the texts of 227 chronologically-arranged statements, speeches, broadcasts, press conferences, letters, resolutions, and other documents on the conflict. Kirk-Greene's bibliography is divided into sections listing pamphlets and official documents, public relations literature, newspapers, books and booklets, journals, articles, and reports, and unpublished materials. He discusses the background and usefulness of these sources.

1731
Kitson, Frank. LOW INTENSITY OPERATIONS: SUBVERSION, INSURGENCY, PEACEKEEPING. London, Faber, 1971. 208 p. U240.K53 1971b
Bibliography: p. 203-204.

Partial contents.--pt. 1. Trends and background: Future trends in the use of force. Enemy aims and methods. Civil military relations.--pt. 2. The army's contribution: The preparatory period. The non-violent phase. Insurgency part 1: tactics, the handling of information. Insurgency part 2: direction, units and equipment. Peace-keeping.--pt. 3. Preparation required: Education and training. Provision of units, specialists and equipment. Conclusions and afterthoughts.--Bibliography.--Index.

Suggests several measures to increase the British Army's capability to deal with insurgency, subversion, and domestic peacekeeping operations. Kitson argues that conventional land warfare is becoming obsolete and that the army's future lies in fighting or even inciting subversion. Part 1 analyzes the future trends in the use of the military in domestic situations, while part 2 discusses the contributions the army must make as part of the overall government effort to overcome subversion and insurgency. Part 3 collects the requirements arising from the previous sections and stresses ways of dealing with insurgents.

1732
Mallin, Jay, comp. TERROR AND URBAN GUERRILLAS; A STUDY OF TACTICS AND DOCUMENTS. Coral Gables, Fla., University of Miami Press [c1971] 176 p.
JC491.M285
Bibliography: p. [172]-173.

Contents.--Introduction, by Jay Mallin.--Partisan warfare, by N. Lenin.--A Viet Cong directive on "repression."--The Palestine terrorists: statements by Yasser Arafat and William Khoury.--Terror in the United States: "an introduction to elementary tactics" and "some questions on tactics" by George Prosser.--Minimanual of the urban guerrilla, by Carlos Marighella.--One hundred fifty questions to a guerrilla, by Alberto Bayo Giroud.--Notes.--Sources.--Bibliography.--Index.

"This volume is aimed at setting forth the theory and techniques of terror, as described by its leading proponents and practitioners." Lenin's 1906 article urges "partisan actions" or "armed struggle" (which Mallin calls "an euphemism for terrorism") as one--but not the only--means of advancing the proletarian revolution. The captured 1965 Viet Cong directive spells out in detail policies, conditions, and methods for the repression of "counterrevolutionary elements." In short statements, Arafat and Khoury justify the use of "armed struggle" and "special tactics" to achieve the liberation of Palestine. The excerpts from articles by George Prosser (a pseudonym) suggest terrorist tactics that might prove useful in the United States. The Brazilian revolutionary Carlos Marighella outlines the role and functions of the urban guerrilla terrorist. Bayo's popular 1955 treatise, used in training Cuban guerrillas, details guerrilla organization, weapons-making, and tactics in a question-and-answer format.

1733
Shinn, Roger L. WARS AND RUMORS OF WARS. Nashville, Abingdon Press [1972] 299 p. illus.
U21.2.S53

Partial contents.--A quarter century later: reflections and explorations: The instrumental meaning of war. The expressive meaning of war. The quest of a kingdom.

Thoughts on the ethical, political, theological, and personal issues involved in war and man's predilection for aggression and violence. Shinn thinks war in certain instances a useful instrument for achieving some human goals but dysfunctional to the extent that it limits the possibility of achieving other goals. Nuclear war, however, does not have instrumental value since it cannot be used effectively to achieve desirable ends. Shinn does not believe man's aggression is explained by theories of man's animal instincts or by territoriality. Instead he finds that war provides a means of release for man's desperation.

1734
Singh, Baljit, and Ko-Wang Mei. THEORY AND PRACTICE OF MODERN GUERRILLA WARFARE. New York, Asia Pub. House [c1971] 133 p.
U240.S5 1971
Bibliography: p. 111-127.

Analyzes the revolutionary, political and sociopsychological causes of modern guerrilla warfare, its strategy and tactics and the concept of counterguerrilla warfare. The authors assert that the factor most responsible for the significant role of guerrilla warfare in political change today is the nature of international politics in the atomic age. Since nuclear war, they believe, is a thing of the past, "unconventional methods of political change" are increasingly employed.

1735
Strong, A. E. G. VALE VIETNAM. Army quarterly, v. 102, Oct. 1971: 47-56.
U1.A85, v. 102

Outlines the political and strategic lessons to be learned from the Vietnam war experience and explains how an underdeveloped nation like North Vietnam can wage war so effectively against the world's most technologically advanced nation. Strong does not find the answer to be simply human resilience. He stresses rather the importance of correctly defining the war's political goal in order to give purpose to the strategic policy and to gain popular support for waging the war. Another lesson Vietnam has taught is that the civil population can be actively involved in military operations as well as in the political and economic conduct of the war.

1736
Voevodsky, John. CRISIS WAVES: THE GROWTH AND DECLINE OF WAR-RELATED BEHAVIORAL EVENTS. Journal of psychology, v. 80, Mar. 1972: 289-308.
BF1.J67, v. 80

Argues that the war-related activity of societies describes a wave-like pattern of alternately rising and falling intensity, and that the pattern is law-like and susceptible to a mathematical formulation and analysis. Increasing war-like activity is the outcome of innumerable decisions by

politicians, field commanders, and other high-level officials, who often are unaware of the cumulative result of their separate acts, which is to increase the overall level of war activity and the chances of war. It is the purpose of this analysis "to help national decisionmakers realize the final catastrophic consequences of their initial low magnitude decisions made years earlier, so that ultimately war behavior may be diverted at the beginning instead of at the end of the war." Voevodsky's analysis is based on warfare vital statistics for the United States from 1939 to 1969.

1737

Weidemann, Diethelm, and Renate Wünsche. [VIETNAM 1945-1970. THE NATIONAL AND SOCIAL LIBERATION STRUGGLE OF THE VIETNAMESE PEOPLE] Vietnam 1945-1970. Der nationale und soziale Befreiungskampf des vietnamesischen Volkes. Berlin, Deutscher Verlag der Wissenschaften, 1971. 339 p. illus.
DS557.A5W42

Includes bibliographical references.

Contents.--Foreword, by Max Sefrin.--Vietnam on the eve f the revolution (1939-1945).--The birth of free Vietnam (1945-1946).--The national war of resistance against French imperialism (1946-1954). --The Geneva Conference of 1954--a victory of the world's anti-imperialist forces.--The development of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam (1954-1964). --The transformation of South Vietnam into an American military colony (1954-1964).--The open war of aggression of American imperialism against the Vietnamese people.--The collapse of the imperialistic strategy of aggression in Vietnam.--The worldwide struggle to end U.S. aggression and for a lasting political solution to the Vietnam problem.--The escalation of the American aggression to the Indochina war. Course and goal of the struggle of the Vietnamese people.--Notes.--Table of contents.

Presents the Communist viewpoint on the growth of the people's power in Vietnam and of the struggle for self-determination. The authors point out that in accepting the National Liberation Front (NLF) as a negotiating partner for the talks in Paris the United States confirmed the aggressive character of its own actions and the Front's international legal status. "The U.S. must then draw the military, political, and moral consequences, accept the '4-part program' of the DRV [Democratic Republic of Vietnam] as well as the '10-point plan' of the Republic of South Vietnam [NLF] as the only real way for the political solution of the Vietnam problem, and stop its aggression against Laos and Cambodia promptly, completely, and irrevocably."

WEAPONRY AND TECHNOLOGY

1738

Barkan, Robert. BUCK ROGERS AND THE DEADLY LASER. New republic, v. 166, Apr. 8, 1972: 10-11.
AP2.N624, v. 166

Reports on current military laser research and development. Barkan says that the Air Force's 60,000-watt laser gun in New Mexico will soon be test-fired at unmanned aircraft and that the Air Force would like to equip the new F-15 and B-1 bombers with laser weapons. The Defense Department apparently is experimenting with lasers for satellite destruction and ballistic missile defense. Most lasers have been sold to the military market. "This year, the Pentagon will spend more than $100 million on laser systems for communications, navigation, reconnaissance, range-finding, gunfire control, and bomb and missile guidance." The success of laser-guided bombs in Vietnam has led to development of other new weapons with laser guidance.

1739

BIG SHIFTS AHEAD FOR U.S. NUCLEAR ARSENAL. U.S. news & world report, v. 72, June 12, 1972: 22-24. illus.
JK1.U65, v. 72

Describes changes contemplated in the makeup of the U.S. strategic arsenal. These will include refitting more than half the Minuteman force with multiple independently targetable reentry vehicles and the rest of the force with more powerful single warheads; eliminating the liquid-fueled Titans; increasing the number of fleet ballistic missile submarines, most of which will be equipped to carry the multiple warhead Poseidon; constructing ABM sites in North Dakota and at Washington, D.C.; and replacing the B-52 with the new B-1, still in the development stage and scheduled for deployment in significant numbers in the 1980's. To pay for these and other changes, the U.S. budget for strategic forces can be expected to increase from 7.6 to 8.8 billions.

1740

Breyer, Siegfried. [THE SOVIET NAVY'S NEW WARSHIP TYPES AND WEAPONS SYSTEMS] Neue Kriegsschifftypen und Waffensysteme der Sowjetmarine. Marine Rundschau, v. 69, May 1972: 257-278. illus.
V3.M3, v. 69

Review of the latest additions to the Soviet naval inventory, discussing and describing naval missile systems, the Krivak-class guided missile destroyers and the Nanuchka- and Grisha-class missile corvettes, and shipboard equipment. These new developments, Soviet undersea strength, and the report that the Soviet Union has begun carrier construction, when viewed against U.S. naval construction, underscore for Breyer American abandonment of the role of world policeman to the Soviets. Pictures, diagrams, and tables illustrate technical data.

1741

De La Mater, Stephen T. THE ROLE OF THE CARRIER IN THE CONTROL OF THE SEAS. In United States Naval Institute, Annapolis. Proceedings, v. 98, May 1972: 110-125. illus.
V1.U8, v. 98

To carry out its mission of ensuring logistical support of overseas commitments, preventing unrestricted Soviet antisubmarine warfare against the American assured-destruction retaliatory strategic force, and denying certain sea areas to the Soviets, and prompted by budget cuts and the changing nature of the threat, the U.S. Navy has proposed a sea control ship that "would provide a least-cost way to take up the slack caused by cuts in the number of carriers and also, by incorporating new air systems, revitalize surface ship utility." In reexamining the role of the aircraft carrier it was found that force reductions and new threats necessitate reconfiguration of the carrier. Along with the unaltered requirement for a powerful fleet of large, nuclear-powered aircraft carriers, the need for carriers that "can operate high performance aircraft in the mid-range threat environment" is also apparent. With but minor alterations current U.S. carriers can control the sea. But a new surface shipbuilding program must be pursued which would provide a fourth nuclear carrier as soon as possible with "one large CV or CVN [conventionally- or nuclear-powered aircraft carrier] every three years thereafter," eight sea control ships to be started in the next three or four years, and a "new class of CV at about 40,000 tons, starting one a year."

1742
Geddes, J. Philip. ASW FROM THE AIR--THE P-3C ORION IN OPERATION. International defense review, v. 5, Feb. 1972: 27-29. illus.
N&CPR

A report on the U.S. Navy's land-based, long-range, antisubmarine warfare aircraft, the Lockheed P-3C Orion. Technical data on flight performance, armament, and avionics are given and squadron organization, deployment patterns, and tactics are described. According to Geddes, who observed the aircraft in action on a routine training mission, the Orion is fully capable of maintaining an established contact with a submerged submarine during evasive action. "With its long range and on-station capability, the effectiveness of the P-3C, assuming even reasonable reliability from its systems, appears to be undebatable."

1743
Glasstone, Samuel. PUBLIC SAFETY & UNDERGROUND NUCLEAR DETONATIONS. [Oak Ridge, Tenn.] U.S. Atomic Energy Commission; [available from National Technical Information Service, Springfield, Va.] 1971. 276 p. illus. UG465.5.G55
"TID-25708."
Bibliography: p. 253-254.

Contents.--Introduction.--Basic principles of nuclear explosions.--Underground nuclear explosions: local events.--Geology, hydrology, and safety of water supplies.--Ground motion and the response of structures.--Seismology and water wave phenomena.--Meteorology and radiation predictions.--The radiological safety program.--The bioenvironmental safety program.--Safety controls for nuclear detonations.--Appendix: Nuclear excavation safety.--References.--Glossary.--Index.

Describes the safety programs of the U.S. Atomic Energy Commission against possible harmful effects from underground nuclear explosions. In addition to surveying precautions taken for nuclear explosions in general, Glasstone examines the special measures for excavations and other peaceful applications. His purpose is to show that the responsible officials have consistently followed the rule that "a nuclear device can be detonated safely only when it is ascertained that the operation can be accomplished without injury to people and domestic animals directly or indirectly, and without an unacceptable damage risk to ecological systems (i.e., the balance of living things and their environment) and to natural and man-made structures."

1744
JANE'S ALL THE WORLD'S AIRCRAFT. Edited by John W. R. Taylor. London, S. Low, Marston & company, ltd., 1971. 774 p. illus.
TL501.J3

Yearbook of the world's aerospace industry. Sections on aircraft, drones, sail planes, military missiles, research rockets and space vehicles, and aero engines provide detailed technical information. The arrangement is alphabetically by country and under country by manufacturer. The editor's foreword refers to the "dramatic events and sensational advances in technology" of the past 12 months.

1745
JANE'S FIGHTING SHIPS, 1971-1972. Edited by Raymond V. B. Blackman. London, S. Low, Marston & Co., 1971. illus. VA40.F5, 1971/72

Partial contents.--Foreword.--Ship reference section.--Table of naval strengths.--Naval aircraft and missiles.

Comprehensive data on the ships, aircraft, and missiles of all the world's navies. Chapters devoted to each national fleet include a numerical summary of that fleet by combat category, and list by name or hull number, under combat category and class, all naval vessels in commission. Displacement, dimensions, complement, armament, propulsion, and speed are given for each class of vessel, along with construction, commissioning, conversion, and transfer information. Photographs or scale drawings are included in most cases. The table of naval strengths is a numerical summary by combat category of the 55 largest navies.

1746
JANE'S WEAPON SYSTEMS, 1971-72. 3d ed. Edited by R. T. Pretty and D. H. R. Archer. New York, McGraw-Hill, c1971. 586 p. illus. (Jane's yearbooks) U104.J35, 1971/72

Contents.--pt. 1. Systems: Missile systems. Data acquisition & countermeasure systems.--pt. 2. Platforms: Armoured fighting vehicles. Fighting ships. Military aircraft. Submarines.--pt. 3. Equipment: Ordnance. Electronic and optical equipment. Mechanical and electromechanical equipment.--pt. 4. Analysis.--General index.

Alphabetical survey by country of origin of land, sea, and air conventional and strategic weapons systems. Data include physical, engineering, and performance characteristics, deployment, development history, and manufacturer. A "new feature" of this edition describes Soviet and American military and reconnaissance satellite activities.

1747
LOCKHEED'S LATEST ASW AIRCRAFT--THE S-3A. International defense review, v. 5, Feb. 1972: 30-32. illus. N&CPR

A report on the U.S. Navy's new sea-based anti-submarine warfare aircraft, the Lockheed S-3A Viking, which is intended to replace the Grumman S-2 Tracker. Key to the success of this new aircraft is "system integration." By this means, a contact can be "immediately exploited by bringing the maximum of sensor systems to bear in the briefest possible time, and providing a rapid interchange of information between the sensor operators on board the ASW aircraft." The Navy's S-3A contract with Lockheed contains some unique features, the intention of which is to "'assure better control of costs, reduce technical risk, and obtain price protection for production, while assuring development milestones are achieved before production begins.'" This should enable the aircraft to avoid the massive cost overruns that have plagued other defense projects.

1748
Lynn, Normann, and Hans Brenner. [NORTH AMERICAN ROCKWELL. B-1: A NEW STRATEGIC BOMBER CONCEPT] North American Rockwell. B-1: ein neues strategisches Bomberkonzept. Flug-Revue, May 1972: 70-75. illus. TL503.C524, 1972

Emphasizes the need to replace the B-52 strategic bomber with the B-1, describes the development and deployment of the former and furnishes a technical description of the B-1 as its replacement. The authors claim that the B-1 bomber must be built because the Soviet Union is developing a counterpart bomber known as "Backfire," the B-52 is obsolete and no longer airworthy, and it is not designed to fly missions at low altitudes, a deployment now necessary because of advanced Soviet radar and antiaircraft missiles. "The new B-1, on the other hand, is designed expressly for low-level attack deployment, indeed at speeds which are close to the speed of sound." The Soviet Union is several years ahead in the development of "Backfire," although the decision has not been made whether to mass-produce the bomber. In the United States a decision is not expected before April 1975. The race between these bomber concepts exercises decisive influence on the strategic balance and the positions taken at the Strategic Arms Limitation Talks.

1749
Myers, Henry R. NAVY F-14: NEW FIGHTER'S COST, SOPHISTICATION, STIR CONTROVERSY. Science, v. 176, Apr. 7, 1972: 35-37. illus. Q1.S35, v. 176

Doubts over the cost, effectiveness, and need of the Navy's swing-wing F-14 fighter have made support for the carrier-based aircraft unfirm in the Congress and Defense Department. The F-14's principal contractor, citing unanticipated cost increases, does not wish to proceed with development without a renegotiated contract. Senator Proxmire believes that the F-14 should be cancelled, substituting a lighter, less expensive aircraft armed with Sidewinder missiles instead of the far more costly Phoenix missiles. The Navy claims that the F-14 is cost-effective, matching or surpassing any other fighter, but critics counter that on an equal cost basis--one F-14 versus four U.S. F-4's or 16 Soviet MiG-21's--the plane would be outclassed. While the Navy says that superior carrier aircraft are essential because of probable greater opposing numbers and limited space, critics reply that smaller aircraft, requiring less space and maintenance, would be more effective, which the Navy denies. Critics also point out that in nuclear war, F-14's would not prove significant in the expected short life of an aircraft carrier, while for "showing the flag" or conducting a Vietnam-like war, F-4's should prove sufficient.

1750
Panel on the Practical Applications of the Peaceful Uses of Nuclear Explosions, Vienna, 1971. PEACEFUL NUCLEAR EXPLOSIONS II: THEIR PRACTICAL APPLICATION; PROCEEDINGS. Organized by the International Atomic Energy Agency, 1971. 355 p. illus. (Panel proceedings series) TN279.P33 1971

"STI/PUB/298."
In English, French, or Russian, abstracts in English, French, Spanish, and Russian.
Errata slip, 1 leaf, inserted.
Includes bibliographical references.
Translations of the French and Russian papers appear in French and Soviet Papers Presented at the Second Panel on the Peaceful Uses of Nuclear Explosions, Vienna, Austria, 18-22 January 1971 (cited as item 723 in vol. 8, no. 2 of this bibliography).

Contents.-- pt. 1. Statements on national programs.--pt. 2. Industrial applications of PNE: Natural gas and oil reservoir stimulation. Creation of gas storage. Extinguishing of uncontrolled gas wells. Other applications.--pt. 3. Effects and safety considerations: Mechanical and

seismic effects. Radiological assessments.--pt. 4. Summary and conclusions.

Papers that focus on stimulation of natural gas and oil reservoirs, creation of underground cavities for storage of gas and oil, and associated safety problems. Reports on Project Gasbuggy and Project Rulison experiments sponsored jointly by the U.S. Government and industry indicate significant stimulation and minimal radionuclide contamination to date. Representatives of Australia, France, India, the Soviet Union, the United Kingdom and the United States report on the state of research on the peaceful uses of nuclear explosions in their countries.

1751
Schreier, F. THE MODERN BATTLE TANK. • PART 2: FIREPOWER. International defense review, v. 5, Feb. 1972: 59-66. illus.
N&CPR

Part 1 of this study is cited as item no. 1210 in v. 8, no. 3, of this bibliography.

Defines "some of the principle parameters on which tank firepower depends, describing in general some of the solutions adopted today and giving a glimpse of possible future developments." These parameters are accuracy, lethality, and speed of reaction, and the technical considerations that effect each of these singly and in combination are considered in detail. Though current tactical doctrine by stressing mobility and the ability to engage enemy armoured vehicles while on the move puts a premium on first round hits, in the final analysis firepower remains a function of all three of the main parameters. The object of the designer in every case is "to obtain the highest degree of first round hit probability--even on the move--with the shortest possible preparation time, and to hit the target with maximum destructive effect."

1752
Schreier, F. THE MODERN BATTLE TANK. PART 3: MOBILITY (1) ENGINES. International defense review, v. 5, Apr. 1972: 161-168. illus.
N&CPR

One of a series of articles exploring modern battle tank design. Earlier articles compared the main tanks of the major producer powers (see vol. 8, no. 3, item no. 1210) and the parameters of firepower (cited in this issue of the bibliography). This article offers a brief history of engine design, a look at the principal design criteria, a survey of engines in service in the Soviet Union, West Germany, Switzerland, the United States, the United Kingdom, France, Japan, and Sweden, and a comparative analysis of the diesel, gas turbine, and diesel-gas turbine combination. Schreier concludes that "the highly developed, mature and exceptionally reliable diesel engine will . . . in all probability remain uncontested as the best all-round tank power unit over the next 10 to 20 years."

1753
Scoville, Herbert. MISSILE SUBMARINES AND NATIONAL SECURITY. Scientific American, v. 226, June 1972: 15-27. illus. T1.S5, v. 226

Because of the relative vulnerability of other strategic weapons systems, the ballistic missile submarine has become the primary element in both the Soviet and U.S. deterrent arsenals. A credible submarine-launched ballistic missile (SLBM) force must be able to fire its missiles from a large ocean area, maintain an adequate number of vessels, missiles, and warheads, communicate reliably with command authorities, and navigate accurately. The U.S. SLBM force has developed excellent capabilities in all these areas since the first ballistic missile submarine became operational in 1960, and is now being converted to carry the multiple-independently-targetable-reentry-vehicle-armed Poseidon missile, with a greater payload than the earlier Polaris missile. In contrast, the Soviet SLBM force is markedly inferior and operates under disadvantages that make a strictly quantitative comparison with the United States unrealistic and misleading. However, the United States is now moving to develop a new undersea long-range missile system (ULMS). All the evidence offered to date denies the need for replacing the Polaris-Poseidon system with an expensive new system for at least another decade. At present, it would be best to maintain the ULMS option in the early research and development state only.

1754
Smith, Robert H. ASW--THE CRUCIAL NAVAL CHALLENGE. In United States Naval Institute, Annapolis. Proceedings, v. 98, May 1972: 126-141. illus. V1.U8, v. 98

Examines antisubmarine warfare (ASW) from the standpoint of detection, localization, and weaponry, concluding that the "submarine will probably continue to keep a long reach ahead of those who oppose her, and her ascendancy in the seas will grow increasingly secure." Smith urges new imaginative ASW research, especially in the areas of towed arrays, helicopters, and submersible platforms, but is pessimistic that "while much can be done to reduce the submarine threat, the underlying question of whether we--the Navy, the government, and the people--have the will, the wisdom, the resources, remains to be answered."

1755
Stephens, D. R. FRENCH-AMERICAN TECHNICAL EXCHANGE OF GEOLOGIC INFORMATION RELATED TO PEACEFUL USES OF NUCLEAR EXPLOSIVES. Livermore, Univ. of California. Lawrence Livermore Lab., Jan. 11, 1972. 21 p. illus. Sci RR
Microfiche UCRL-51171

"Prepared for U.S. Atomic Energy Commission under contract No. W-7405-Eng-48."

The French-American technical exchange of geologic information related to peaceful uses of nuclear explosives was held in Berkeley, California,

from October 26-29, 1971. Topics discussed included rock sample selection and testing, numerical calculations, field data collection and interpretation, and geochemical data and interpretation. The results of the 13 French underground detonations in Hoggar granite were extensively discussed along with the U.S. Piledriver, Gasbuggy and proposed Wagon Wheel experiments. Reports and new information were exchanged; the French furnished Hoggar granite samples to the U.S. for study and the U.S. gave Wagon Wheel sandstone samples to the French for examination. The meeting participants concluded that another meeting would be beneficial to each country's program. At which time the U.S. would discuss the Hoggar granite results and the French their Wagon Wheel studies. (Abstract supplied)

1756
Taubinger, Laszlo M. von. [CHINA ON THE WAY TOWARD BECOMING A MISSILE POWER] China auf dem Weg zur Raketenmacht. Allgemeine schweizerische Militärzeitschrift, v. 138, Apr. 1972: 190, 193.
U3.A43, v. 138

China will soon be testing an intercontinental ballistic missile (ICBM), probably to be launched from Tibet and targeted on the Indian Ocean. Indications of this intention include the erection of a radar site on the north slope of Mount Everest and Chinese participation in the building of a telemetry station on the coast of Tanzania. Military experts see a connection between the two earth satellites orbited by the Chinese last year and the multistage propulsion for the Chinese ICBM. The successful attainment of the satellite orbit suggests that the Chinese have solved the problems of propulsion and guidance. It is believed that the Chinese have already experimented with solid fuels and have facilities for their production. Although the type of ICBM fuel used is not yet known, it is certain that the Chinese will need at least three more years to complete ICBM testing. China will also soon possess an arsenal of short- and intermediate-range missiles whose continued development after the ICBM becomes operational is uncertain.

1757
Taylor, John W. R., and Gordon Swanborough. MILITARY AIRCRAFT OF THE WORLD. New York, Scribner [1971] 230 p. illus.
TL685.3.T3268

Basic performance data, specifications, development and service history, and photographs and silhouettes for first-line fighter, bomber, reconnaissance, and transport aircraft and tactical support helicopters. Second-line combat aircraft, obsolescent types, light transports, and communications and training aircraft are covered in somewhat less detail. About 300 different types are presented. According to the editors, this survey makes clear that "the military aeroplane remains as vital as ever in what is sometimes called 'the missile age'."

1758
Toedtli, Serge]. [ROCKET ARTILLERY, TUBE ARTILLERY. A COMPARISON] Rakentenartillerie, Rohrartillerie. Eine Gegenüberstellung. Zürich, Komm. Beer, 1971. 28 p. illus. (Neujahrsblatt der Feuerwerker-Gesellschaft [Artillerie-Kollegium] in Zürich auf das Jahr 1971, 162)
UF145.T65

Contents.--Introduction.--Historical survey.--Demands on modern artillery systems.--Comparison between tube and rocket artillery.--The most important rocket systems introduced.--Development trends.--Conclusions.

Comparison of conventional tube artillery with nonguided, medium-caliber, short-range ballistic surface missiles and a description of the various rocket systems. Toedtli concludes that while in the present state of the art both tube and rocket artillery have advantages the latter will eventually predominate. He adds that rocket artillery is the only weapons system that enables a small state to come close to confronting on a tactical basis the intimidations of an atomic power.

1759
Ulsamer, Edgar. THE QUESTION OF SOVIET ORBITAL BOMBS. Air Force magazine, v. 55, Apr. 1972: 74-75. UG633.A65, v. 55

Highlights Soviet space weapons systems discussed in the Library of Congress' Congressional Research Service study Soviet Space Programs, 1966-70 (an annotation of which appears elsewhere in this issue of the bibliography). The report states that "the Soviet Union apparently has an operational FOBS (Fractional Orbital Bombardment System), and some of the SS-9 missiles may carry FOBS payloads in place of ICBM warheads."

1760
Ulsamer, Edgar. STRATEGIC OPTIONS AND TOTAL FORCE CONCEPTS. Air Force magazine, v. 55, May 1972: 39-44. illus. UG633.A65, v. 55

Reports on an interview with General George S. Brown, commander of the Air Force Systems Command (AFSC), on the status and prospects of Air Force research and development of weapons systems and new defense technologies. General Brown says that development of a new Air Force strategic system comparable to the Navy's undersea long-range missile system (ULMS) is at present unnecessary because the Minuteman is still a viable system with a long life expectancy and a strong growth potential. He mentions without detail that AFSC is developing a counterforce capability. Suggesting that the 1963 Nuclear Test Ban Treaty "may have placed the United States at a disadvantageous position with respect to a fuller understanding of the side effects of high-yield nuclear weapons," in particular the effects of electromagnetic pulses, General Brown says that the United States

"could learn much more through atmospheric testing" than it has from underground testing only and expresses concern about possible "extensive knowledge" gained from a Soviet 60-megaton atmospheric test shortly before the treaty went into force. Also discussed are antisubmarine warfare, command and control, laser weapons, remotely piloted vehicles, defense suppression, phototyping programs, aircraft development, and management efficiency.

1761
United States. Atomic Energy Commission. ANNUAL REPORT TO CONGRESS. 1971. Washington, U.S. Govt. Print. Off., 1972. 249 p. illus.
HD9698.U5A33, 1971

Contents.--Introduction.--pt. 1. Regulatory activities: Licensing and regulation. Reactor licensing. Materials control.--pt. 2. Environmental safety: Environmental considerations. Radioactive wastes. Operational safety.--pt. 3. Operating and developmental functions: National defense. Reactor technology. Nuclear materials. Applications research. Basic research. International affairs. Educational and administrative.

Reviews the activities of the U.S. Atomic Energy Commission during 1971. The Commission's most important achievements in national defense were the keellaying for the new electric-drive, "quiet" submarine, the Glenard P. Lipscomb; the successful completion of 10 nuclear weapons tests at the Nevada Test Site; and the Cannikan test on Amchitka Island, which was conducted "without release of radiation to the atmosphere and, as predicted, did no environmental damage beyond the immediate vicinity of the test." In the international field, the major developments were U.S. participation in the Fourth United Nations International Conference on Peaceful Uses of Atomic Energy, the offer to aid in the construction of a multinational gaseous diffusion plant, and an exchange of visits with Soviet officials in the nuclear field.

1762
U.S. Atomic Energy Commission. Technical Information Center. NUCLEAR CRATERING EXPLOSION EFFECTS FOR INTEROCEANIC CANAL FEASIBILITY STUDIES. Edited by Alfred W. Klement. Las Vegas, Nevada Operations Office, Nov. 1971. 154 p. illus.
Sci RR
Microfiche no. NVO-67 (Rev. 1)

Summarizes the available techniques for nuclear excavation, the associated effects, and the safety factors involved.

1763
Willrich, Mason. GLOBAL POLITICS OF NUCLEAR ENERGY. New York, Praeger Publishers [1971] 204 p. illus. (Praeger special studies in international politics and public affairs)
TK9145.W49
Includes bibliographical references.

Contents.--pt. 1. Introduction: Technology challenges politics.--pt. 2. Politics of nuclear power: Nuclear fuel cycle. Political evolution. National capabilities and objectives. International control. Probable and possible futures.--pt. 3. Politics of technology development: Breeder reactors. Nuplex. Plowshare. Controlled fusion.--pt. 4. Conclusion: Nuclear energy and world order.

Aims "to develop a clear conception of the international problems involved in the peaceful uses of nuclear energy and to evaluate the policy alternatives available for dealing with these problems in the international arena." Willrich stresses the crucial role energy plays in modern civilizations. He expresses doubt on the ability of the nation-state system, at least as presently constituted, to exploit the great potential of nuclear energy safely and efficiently, and warns that, in the nuclear age, nations must exchange more of their sovereignty for interdependence.

DEFENSE POLICIES AND STRATEGIES

1764
AN ALL-VOLUNTEER ARMY: A DIALOGUE. In U.S. Command and General Staff College, Fort Leavenworth. Military review, v. 52, June 1972: 70-79. illus.
Z6723.U35, v. 52

Contents.--The dangers of an all-volunteer army, by David Syrett and Richard H. Kohn.--Another view of an all-volunteer army, by Harry G. Summers.

Arguments for and against the all-volunteer army. Syrett and Kohn argue that an all-volunteer army, composed of the dregs of society, the failures and the alienated, would seriously threaten the integrity of American political institutions, jeopardizing civilian control over policy and making an out-and-out military coup d'etat a real possibility. In rebuttal, Summers argues that the military is not, as Syrett and Kohn assume, a monolithic entity. On the contrary, it is deeply split along lines that mirror the political divisions of the society at large. Obtaining quality recruits need pose no difficulties: By raising enlistment standards, the Army could avoid any danger of becoming a sanctuary for the derelict and the misfit.

1765
Barclay, Cyril N. [BRITISH DEFENSE POLICY] Britische Verteidigungspolitik. Wehrkunde, v. 21, Apr. 1972: 177-180.
U3.W396, v. 21

Surveys those aspects of British defense policy of interest to West Germany and NATO on the basis of information contained in the Statement on the Defence Estimates 1972. CMND 4891. Despite commitments in Northern Ireland and in areas outside of Europe, the United Kingdom not only continues

to support its NATO allies in the defense of Europe but has increased its contributions in terms of manpower and new and improved equipment. For 1972-1973, Barclay reports, the defense budget amounts to 5.5 percent of the gross national product, a higher percentage than in most NATO countries. Barclay concludes with a discussion of the declining military significance of Malta and the necessity, nonetheless, of denying its facilities to the Soviet Union.

1766
Barrett, Raymond J. GARDUATED RESPONSE AND THE LESSONS OF VIETNAM. In U.S. Command and General Staff College, Fort Leavenworth. Military review, v. 52, May 1972: 80-91. illus.
Z6723.U35, v. 52

Graduated response, one aspect of the doctrine of flexible response, has been tested in the air war in Vietnam and its failure is manifest. Where the aggression is covert, and the aggressor a developing country under dictatorial rule, the likelihood that a graduated interdiction campaign will succeed is small indeed. But the lesson can be stated more generally: Graduated response is of doubtful utility whenever the adversary is determined and the upper limits of the response are known. The theory sounds fine, but in practice, the graduated application of force allows the enemy too much time to take countermeasures. International pressures, usually based on a distorted view of events, are also given time in which to build up. Yet the United States cannot turn its back on the instability and violence that plague so much of the world. Alternative strategies and methods are called for. One possible solution might be to put more stress on vigorous resource and population control in areas where insurgency threatens. This would reduce the flexibility and overall capability of any insurgency that did develop and enable the United States to deal with it at a more realistic level of force.

1767
Beglow, Spartak. [EUROPEAN CLOAK FOR NATO?] Europäisches Mäntelchen für die NATO? Sowjetunion heute (Cologne), v. 17, Mar. 16, 1972: 27-28.
DK266.A2S784, v. 17

One of the chief purposes of West European integration is to support a powerful war machine and to cloak NATO's military designs from public view. Aware that it is no longer advisable to champion the military alliance, NATO supporters have become European integrationists. They promote the image of a Europe that would play a prominent role in world affairs, become the equal trading partner of the United States, and make contributions to reducing tensions. All the while they know, however, that the real "Atlantists," who reside in Washington, want increased confrontation in Europe and a captive market for American goods. It is evident that the aims of these integrationists are incompatible with the all-European nature of détente. This camouflage of motives explains why integrationists oppose the convening of a European security conference.

1768
Besser, Joachim. [BISMARCK WOULD HAVE AGREED] Bismarck wäre einverstanden. Dokumente. Zeitschrift für übernationale Zusammenarbeit, v. 28, Mar. 1972: 8-9. H5.D65, v. 28

In the pursuit of his Ostpolitik Chancellor Willy Brandt is practicing a foreign policy remarkably like that successfully conducted a century ago by the Iron Chancellor. In fact, Brandt is the first German leader since Bismarck to recognize both the significance and the peril that Russia represents for Western Europe. In the intervening years German leaders wrongly regarded France as the enemy and overlooked the essentials of Bismarck's strategy. Bismarck, fearing the limitless Russian realm with its inexhaustible reserves in men and materials, was mindful of the futility of fighting Russian geography. Therefore, he sought good relations with the Russians while at the same time depending on a Western alliance system to deter Russian designs on Europe. Brandt's combination of Ostpolitik and commitment to the Atlantic Alliance is good, conservative Bismarckian strategy and shows that the Socialist leader is more of a statesman than a politician.

1769
Bletz, Donald F. THE ROLE OF THE MILITARY PROFESSIONAL IN U.S. FOREIGN POLICY. New York, Praeger [c1972] 320 p. (Praeger special studies in U.S. economic and social development)
JX1427.M5B55
Bibliography: p. 301-314.

Contents.--Preface.--Acknowledgments.--Introduction.--Historical background.--The cold war.--Politico-military organization.--Politico-military education of the American military professional.--Military thinking in the United States.--The elusive concept of victory.--Yesterday, today, and tomorrow.--Appendix.--Selected bibliography.--Index.

Examines the changing role of the military professional in the formulation of foreign policy throughout U.S. history, reviews the effect of that political role on the military profession, and makes recommendations for the profession in the next decade. Bletz presents the arguments for and against the military's assumption of politico-military responsibilities in foreign-policy areas since World War II. He warns that although the military professional has evolved a highly institutionalized approach to politicomilitary considerations, the danger exists that he will lose sight of national objectives in arguing the military case. On the other hand, however, the military professional must not duplicate the foreign service professional. Bletz finds that the Vietnam war has been waged superbly on the level of

military technology but inconsistently with the political objective. Further, he insists that if current trends toward less professionalism continue, a balanced politicomilitary equation is questionable in the seventies. In conclusion, Bletz advises that the United States understand the politicomilitary problem and insist that its military officers achieve a dual professionalism at both the military technological and politicomilitary levels.

1770
Bradford, Zeb B., and Frederic J. Brown. ARMY SUPPORT OF COALITION SECURITY. In U.S. Command and General Staff College, Fort Leavenworth. Military review, v. 52, May 1972: 4-21. illus.
Z6723.U35, v. 52

Proposes a "coalition-type" approach to U.S. security, and describes the Army's probable role in support of such an approach. The development of multipolarity at the Great-Power level has created the most fluid and dynamic situation since World War II. In this state of affairs, to which containment has become an inadequate response, a foreign policy based on flexibility and bargaining, with more emphasis on political and economic action and less on force, would be highly desirable. This has important implications for U.S. military aid policy, Army organization, leadership, and training, reserve policy and the draft, and troop deployments to Europe.

1771
Bradford, Zeb B., and Frederic J. Brown. MEETING THE CHALLENGE OF COALITION SECURITY. In U.S. Command and General Staff College, Fort Leavenworth. Military review, v. 52, June 1972: 4-19. illus.
Z6723.U35, v. 52

Offers recommendations for the development of a more "capital intensive" army, a step made necessary by shrinking military budgets and manpower, and for the reestablishment of "professional credibility," both within the service and with the American public. Suggestions are made for the better utilization of available skills and technology and for correcting the public image of "a generally well-meaning but incompetent, self-serving organization which has grown complacent and unresponsive." Involved are organizational adjustment, new management techniques and training programs, and improvements in personnel policies and public relations.

1772
Brown, Neville. HOME PORT AT PIRAEUS: WHAT IT MEANS FOR THE SIXTH FLEET. New Middle East, nos. 42/43, Mar./Apr. 1972: 23-25. illus.
DS63.1.N48, 1972

Analyzes the implications of basing an American attack carrier on the Greek island of Piraeus. Brown points out that it does not mean that carrier based weapons should be discussed at the Strategic Arms Limitation Talks on the assumption that they could reach targets inside the Soviet Union. Apart from its deterrent function the Sixth Fleet "can act as a remarkably subtle signal of intent." Brown explains the composition and function of the Sixth Fleet and the concept of "home-porting." He finds little cause for alarm, concluding that the installation at Piraeus will be "not a base or even a baselet but simply a rather diffuse amenity."

1773
Cameron, Neil. THE STRATEGIC BALANCE. Royal Air Forces quarterly, v. 11, autumn 1971: 169-175; winter 1971: 253-258; v. 12, spring 1972: 1-5. illus.
UG635.G7A1252, v. 11 and 12

Contents.--pt. 1. The strategic balance today. --pt. 2. The implication of new weapon systems.--pt. 3. China, Europe and SALT.

U.S. strategic superiority is decreasing, although the United States retains the lead in numbers. The Soviet Union appears to have accepted the American concepts of deterrence. Because either superpower is capable of inflicting sizeable damage on the other, the balance is stable. The potential effects of deploying antimissile defense systems, multiple independently targetable reentry vehicles, or special trajectory ICBM's may be countered by deployment of another system, while quantitative and qualitative leads are mostly worthless strategically. "It follows from this that in my view these new systems, contrary to what the popular press often suggests, do not in fact pose any substantial threat to the basic stability of the deterrent balance." The emergence of China as a nuclear power complicates Soviet-U.S. strategic relations, giving the Chinese a degree of political leverage out of proportion to their present capabilities. The United States is unlikely to conclude a strategic arms limitation agreement detrimental to European security interests, but the possibility of diminished American credibility suggests the efficacy of some European strategic deterrent. However, the present stable strategic balance will continue to remain so "because the superpowers wish it to be that way."

1774
Carell, Paul. MOBILE DEFENSE. In U.S. Command and General Staff College, Fort Leavenworth. Military review, v. 52, Feb. 1972: 77-82. illus.
Z6723.U35, v. 52

Procurement by the Bundeswehr of modern Leopard battle tanks has come under fire from critics who argue that an offensive weapon has no place in a defense-oriented army. The purchase of such a weapon raises suspicions concerning the nature of West Germany's military plans and undermines the credibility of Bonn's détente policy. What these critics overlook, however, is that the key to a

sound defense is the counterattack, and indispensable to a successful counterattack is heavy armor. The only real alternative to mobile defense would be a massive use of nuclear weapons, for obvious reasons an unacceptable substitute. The increased effectiveness of antitank weapons and the greater density of building structures in central Europe, together with other considerations, have cast serious doubts on the future of the tank and made evident the need to give serious thought to a follow-on weapons system. But until that new weapon arrives, the battle tank will remain "the focal element of the defensive battle, the very heart of defense itself."

1775
Clarey, Bernard A. U.S. NAVY'S CHANGING ROLE IN THE FAR EAST. U.S. news & world report, v. 72, Apr. 17, 1972: 76-79.
JK1.U65, v. 72

An interview with Adm. Bernard A. Clarey, Commander-in-Chief, Pacific Fleet. Clarey responds to questions concerning the combat readiness of his Pacific Command, and especially the Seventh Fleet; the size and composition of Soviet naval forces in the area; the situation developing in the Indian Ocean; American (and Soviet) logistics problems in the Pacific and Indian Oceans; the implications of the Nixon Doctrine for forward bases and operating areas; Japanese naval plans; Communist Chinese naval capabilities; Fleet morale; and the defense of Taiwan.

1776
Cockram, Ben. A STRATEGY FOR SOUTH AFRICA. South African journal of African affairs, v. 1, 1971: 31-38. HC501.S64, v. 1

In the Soviet-American competition for world influence, the Russians have been more successful among the so-called Third World nations. Added to the Soviet propaganda campaign which has isolated South Africa from its former friends in the West, this penetration has increased the security threat to South Africa and necessitated the creation of a strong and versatile defense force. South Africa's defense front has become the Zambezi River. Maintenance of this forward line has required assistance to Rhodesia and the Portuguese provinces, augmented conventional forces, special counterinsurgency units, and an expanded air force for close ground support. "The major pre-occupation of South African strategic planning must, however, unless the threats from the north escalate, be the defence of its ports and coastal industrial areas from attack from the sea." By itself South Africa is unable to defend the Cape sea-lanes, but an American, British, or NATO commitment for their protection will probably come when the reality of the strategic situation in the Indian Ocean area becomes manifest. In the meantime, South Africa should quietly lay the foundations for future cooperation.

1777
Csizmas, Michael. [THE PARAMILITARY ORGANIZATIONS OF THE WARSAW PACT STATES] Die paramilitärichen Organisationen der Warschauer-Pakt-Staaten. Österreichische militärische Zeitschrift, v. 10, Jan./Feb. 1972: 24-32. illus.
U3.O34, v. 10

Details the paramilitary, premilitary and civil defense training and organizations of the Warsaw Pact states and the manner in which they complement the needs of the defense establishments. This training, part of the all-inclusive Socialist national defense, has three main objectives: the moral-political indoctrination of the population into accepting military obligations, protection against weapons of mass destruction and the consequences of their use, and direct military preparation and planning.

1778
Daniker, Gustav. [CONDITIONS OF A SWISS STRATEGY OF DETERRENCE] Conditions d'une stratégie de dissuation helvétique. Revue militaire suisse, v. 117, Mar. 1972: 131-133.
U2.R5, v. 117

Argues that although deterrence depends upon military strength, it is no less dependent upon an interdisciplinary approach involving civil and military elements acting together and in support of each other. Daniker notes that deterrence is credible only when a country is capable of inflicting unacceptable damage upon an aggressor. He poses a number of questions that illustrate the prerequisites of a credible Swiss deterrent force.

1779
DOES THE STRATEGY OF FLEXIBLE RESPONSE NEED MODIFYING? IF SO IN WHAT WAY? Report of a seminar held at the Royal United Service Institution on Wednesday, 4 November, 1970; Sir Richard Gale in the chair. London, Royal United Service Institution [1971] [3], 14 p. UA646.3.D63
Panelists: Neville Brown, Julian Critchley, Philip Goodhart, Denis Healey, Arthur Hezlet, Peter Nailor, W. F. K. Thompson, Augustus Walker.

Panel discussion of the state of NATO defense strategy. Denis Healey, former English Defence Minister, believes that flexible response "is a sensible strategy so long as we have the number of forces we have today," but "that we may in a few years have substantially fewer forces than we have now." The other speakers generally share this concern. Healey feels that by increasing the options in a European war, flexible response has aided the image of NATO in European public opinion. The flexible response doctrine has helped NATO itself by making available compromise between German insistence on the immediate use of nuclear weapons and the American reluctance to use them if the United States itself is not attacked.

1780
Dorn, Jürgen. [EUROPE'S NUCLEAR DIFFICULTIES] Europas nukleare Schwierigkeiten. Revue militaire générale; general military review, Feb. 1972: 162-182. U2.R48, 1972
Includes summaries in French and English.

Surveys the nuclear strategic options faced by the Europeans within the context of the strategic deterrent equation between the United States and the Soviet Union. Dorn asserts that the progress in consultation made by the Nuclear Planning Group would suffer from the formation of a European nuclear bloc. France's withdrawal from NATO and the economic problems facing a Franco-British nuclear entente have made the creation of a nuclear Europe highly unlikely. Dorn concludes that America's "realistic deterrence," incorporating the maintenance of its second-strike capabilfty, the reinforcement of consultation with its European partners, and negotiations with the Soviet Union on nuclear problems at present constitute the most favorable strategy for the defense of Europe.

1781
Eller, Ernest M. THE SOVIET SEA CHALLENGE. Foreword by Arleigh Burke. [Chicago] Cowles Book Co. [1971] 315 p. illus.
VA573.E43
Bibliography: p. 289-292.

Contents.--Foreword.--The Soviet menace from the sea.--The United States' sea heritage.--World struggle for survival of freedom.--The Soviet Navy's maritime background.--War won--peace lost. --Disaster from lack of foresight.--Approaching storm of the world?--Vietnam: nibbling and nipping--how not to win.--Rushing toward shipwreck.--Naval air and missiles.--Amphibious and other power.--Ocean transport: lifeline of nations.--Oceanography and allied uses of the sea.--Hurricane warnings.--Bibliography.--Maps.--Index.

Illustrates the expanding power of the Soviet Navy over the last quarter of a century by comparing its present maritime capabilities with those of the United States. Eller foresees this maritime growth as one of the most critical problems facing America's future. He warns that if the United States fails to meet the Soviet sea challenge it "will deserve the fate reserved for the soft and weak."

1782
Ellsworth, Robert F. EUROPEAN SECURITY--A UNITED STATES VIEW. In Royal United Services Institute, London. Journal, v. 116, Dec. 1971: 5-12. illus.
U1.R8, v. 116
"A lecture given at the R.U.S.I. on 15th September 1971. . . ."

International relations within Europe and between Europe and the United States are changing as West European unification approaches. East-West negotiations on strategic arms limitation, the German problem, and mutual and balanced force reductions will have an enormous impact on European security. The success of a détente in Europe will depend on its confidence in the American commitment to defend Europe. The United States will remain involved in Europe in spite of the Mansfield amendment to reduce European troop levels. The 61-36 defeat of the amendment in May 1971 signals that the United States remains willing to bear its part of European defense.

1783
Erickson, John. SOVIET MILITARY POWER. London, Royal United Services Institute, 1971. [1], 112 p. UA770.E74
Bibliography: p. 108-[112].

Partial contents.--Soviet strategic policy: debates and decisions.--The reshaping of the Soviet military command, 1965-70.--Strategic weapons.--Soviet combat training.--The level of the Soviet effort: commitments and deployments.--Bibliography.

Surveys the "debates and decisions" within the Soviet hierarchy concerning the course and buildup of Soviet military power and strategy. The resulting changes in the military command and the improvements in capabilities, particularly in strategic forces and general purposes forces, are reviewed. Erickson studies the direction of Soviet combat training and the implementation of "combat readiness" and the extent of Moscow's commitments and deployments. He contends that the post-Khrushchev expansion of Soviet military power was undertaken "without a prescribed or even agreed notion of a particular strategic relationship with the United States, save for a sense of erasing the image and the substance of Soviet 'inferiority'."

1784
Ernst, Alfred. [SWITZERLAND AND EUROPEAN SECURITY] Die Schweiz und die europäische Sicherheit. Allgemeine schweizerische Militärzeitschrift, v. 138, May 1972: 233-235. U3.A43, v. 138

The only effective counterweight to the realization of Soviet goals is a balanced military relationship in Europe. Recently the balance has been tipped in favor of Moscow by Washington's Vietnam-induced disinclination to support its overseas commitments and by a general increase in the Soviet nuclear arsenal. Given this American attitude, the attainment of nuclear near parity, and the Soviet superiority in conventional weapons, Moscow might very conceivably conduct an aggressive strategy, convinced that Washington would not risk a nuclear war. A reduction or stabilization of current military levels in Europe is desirable, but any mutual quantitative reduction would be disadvantageous to NATO in view of the superiority of East Bloc forces and the facts of geography. The proposed European security conference entails similar dangers, especially if the West under psychological pressure seeks agreement at any cost.

From the present picture of European security Switzerland can draw only the conclusion that its maintenance of a military posture is a stability factor. "In the interest of European security the neutrals should be the last to disarm."

1785
Foland, Frances M. REEXAMINING THE SECURITY PACT: JAPAN TURNS TO DEFENSE. New leader, v. 55, Apr. 3, 1972: 7-8. illus.
HX1.N37, v. 55

An increased defense budget demonstrates Japan's new emphasis on military power. Four factors have contributed to this remilitarization drive: the Nixon Doctrine, Japan's soaring economy, the reversion of Okinawa, and the Nixon "shocks." The Japan-U.S. Security Treaty is undergoing scrutiny as questions are posed about the strength of the American commitment. Washington hopes that Japan will do its defense shopping from American industry, but Japanese manufacturers are improving rapidly and will soon be competitive with foreign arms makers. A portion of the defense budget will go to research and development and Japan will soon be a chief producer of atomic power, second only to the U.S. Critics fear a military buildup; "the specter of a remilitarized--let alone nuclearized --Japan stirs strong emotional reactions among those who remember the country's role in World War II." Others reply that war is no longer a feasible option for Japan.

1786
Goldwater, Barry M. THE PRESIDENT'S ABILITY TO PROTECT AMERICA'S FREEDOMS--THE WARMAKING POWER. Law and the social order, v. 1971, no. 3: 423-449.
LL
Includes bibiographical references.
Reprinted as part of "The War Powers Report," Congressional record (daily ed.), v. 118, Feb. 9, 1972: S1504-S1513. J11.R52, v. 118

Senate bill 2956, setting limits to the President's use of military forces without Congressional assent, has been favorably reported by the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. The record shows that U.S. forces have been engaged in numerous foreign military encounters at Presidential discretion. Congress has never directly moved to restrict the President's right to deploy troops or to command him to recall them, and recent legislative proposals, though widely publicized, are greatly limited in scope. S. 2956, rigid in proscribing action and vague in defining hostilities, "represents the most sweeping attempt to govern Presidential use of America's military machinery that this country has ever witnessed." An impressive body of scholarly and judicial authority has historically maintained that the President is empowered to employ the armed forces of the United States in any manner in any place of his choosing. Congress does possess the constitutional power to control the size, composition, and armament of these forces, as well as the ancillary machinery for mobilizing the nation's warmaking and economic power. "But once Congress establishes the military forces and provides them with equipment and supplies, it is the President who determines the policies under which those forces shall be stationed, transported, and committed in furtherance of the national defense."

1787
Gray, Colin S. AIR DEFENCE: A SCEPTICAL VIEW. Queen's quarterly, v. 79, spring 1972: 3-13.
AP5.Q3, v. 79

Ottawa will most likely agree to extend the life of the North American Air Defense Command (NORAD) for another five years when the U.S.-Canadian system comes up for renewal in the spring of 1973. But the military justification given this strategic bomber defense setup collapses under close scrutiny. Detailed examination of possible Soviet attack scenarios leads to the conclusion that NORAD can make no contribution to deterrence, for there is no strategic sense in the Soviet Union's use of its Long Range Aircraft (LRA) in a general nuclear exchange with the United States. The LRA could not contribute in any conceivable way to a Soviet victory; at most it could only increase the overall destruction. The new U.S. systems intended to modernize NORAD--Airborne Warning and Control System (AWACS), Over-the-Horizon-Backscatter Radar (OTH-B), the converted F-15 improved manned interceptor (IMI), and the SAM-D surface-to-air missile--are technically excellent. Their development and deployment lack strategic point. "The minimal 'deterrent protection' contribution attainable by NORAD could very well be attained by the retention of an aerial 'Coast Guard' system in the U.S.A. and in Canada, supported by the DEW Line and three OTH-B sites (if technical difficulties can be overcome for the North-looking site)."

1788
Gray, Colin S. STRATEGIC SUFFICIENCY: A QUESTION OF FAITH? Air Force magazine, v. 55, Apr. 1972: 27-32. illus. UG633.A65, v. 55

"In contrast to much current criticism, this article will argue that the nuclear arms race is and should be viewed as an instrument of foreign policy, that relative strategic inventory assessments do matter, and that much of the arms control orthodoxy of today does not rest upon sophisticated analysis of the policy-making process or potential ambitions of the arms race adversaries." The existence of more than two nuclear powers and the uncertainty of Soviet strategic doctrine and decisionmaking processes call into question the doctrine of a deterrent for assured destruction only. Any number of cases can be logically made in answering "how much is enough?" but experience would indicate that the argument for a minimal sufficiency level is incorrect. The Soviet Union's strategic buildup shows its belief in the politi-

cal advantages of strategic strength and its non-acceptance of minimal deterrence reasoning. In view of this outlook and the handicaps of America's new self-doubt, "arms-race overreaction is vastly to be preferred to underreaction." Experience suggests that attempting to freeze technological development would be futile. Mutual belief in parity is important, but should not be defined by treaty, an approach certain to fail. The arms race is an outgrowth of political competition and, while expensive, need not be dangerous. What should be re-examined is the acceptability of the assured-destruction doctrine that holds civilian populations as hostages.

1789
Janowitz, Morris. THE FUTURE OF NATO. Survival, v. 13, Dec. 1971: 412-415.
U162.89, v. 13

Reprinted from a discussion at a seminar of the Inter-University Seminar on Armed Forces and Society.

By July 1973 the United States will probably have to announce its intention to reduce its conventional forces in Western Europe. The negative balance of payments, the need to contain the military budget, and the introduction of an all-volunteer army work in favor of such a reduction. In the meantime congressional leaders must press for fixing the date for a conference on mutual force reductions in Europe. The conference must consider political and military factors that would increase the security of Western and Central Europe. On the agenda of this conference should be the establishment of a hot line between the Warsaw Pact and NATO headquarters and of an effective system of mutual surveillance to ensure compliance with the results of negotiation.

1790
Janowitz, Morris. TOWARD AN ALL-VOLUNTEER MILITARY. Public interest, no. 27, spring 1972: 104-117.
H1.P86, 1972

The impending transition of the U.S. armed forces to an all-volunteer, professional system means that "major reorganizations are necessary in the areas of education, career system, deployment, and participation of the military in civilian life" if the military are to attract men with the necessary qualities and maintain compatibility with democratic standards. For career soldiers, guaranteed entrance into the civil service should become the second part of a two-stage public service career with officer pensions available after 10 to 12 years of service. The Army should adopt a modified British regimental system, assigning a man to a particular brigade, port, or air base for most of his career. Officer Candidate School should be emphasized, ROTC programs made more accessible, military education revamped, and the question of authority reviewed. Opportunities for either on- or off-base housing should be created, and individual participation in community affairs permitted to a degree. The military profession is due for self-examination and must broaden its social functions, recognizing "that peace keeping through a military presence, deterrence, and participation in the control of national emergencies constitute the modern definition of the heroic role."

1791
Kastl, Joseph W. ANTIMILITARISM IN THE AGE OF AQUARIUS. Air University review, v. 23, Nov./Dec. 1971: 32-38. illus.
TL501.A5574, v. 23

Military men are confused by the revolution in values taking place among America's youth, and repelled by the tendency of the young to blame the military for every social ill. Military men, however, are not alone in being confused and worried. Some scholars see in the youthful abandonment of discipline and traditional values the manifestations of national decline. In this situation, the question arises whether there is still a role for the military to play in American life? There is, but only if the military can demonstrate that no real conflict exists between the old concepts of duty, honor, and country, and the new values. The military must begin to explore ways to broaden and enrich military life, and relax, where consistent with mission, the restraints of autocratic discipline. Jobs must be made more challenging, and procedures for the registering of grievances found. Finally, some historical perspective is in order. The civilian population has never liked the military, and it is asking too much to expect it to do so now. Yet the nation has survived and the military has always managed to do its job. President Nixon today, like President Lincoln more than 100 years ago, is faced with the obligation of prosecuting an unpopular war. President Lincoln remained true to his duty and the nation prevailed. It can do so again.

1792
Katauskas, Philip J. LAST MUSTER FOR THE CITIZENS' ARMY? In United States Naval Institute, Annapolis. Proceedings, v. 98, Feb. 1972: 61-67. illus.
V1.U8, v. 98

Traces the growth of antimilitary sentiment in the United States over the past decade, and speculates on the implications of this trend, together with the President's announced intention to seek a "generation of peace" and the establishment of an all-volunteer army, for the place of the military in U.S. society. Katauskas believes that a civil-military schism of the first magnitude may be in the making. He proposes steps in the areas of housing, education, civic action, and politics that, by encouraging an interchange between civilian and military elements in society, might help to prevent this civil-military schism.

1793
Kidd, Isaac C. VIEW FROM THE BRIDGE OF THE SIXTH FLEET FLAGSHIP. In United States Naval Institute, Annapolis. Proceedings, v. 98, Feb. 1972: 18-29. illus. V1.U8, v. 98

A review of the naval situation in the Mediterranean area by the Commander of the U.S. Sixth Fleet. Kidd examines the capabilities and limitations of the U.S. and Soviet main strike forces, logistics and air support problems, submarine and antisubmarine warfare, and surveillance operations. The U.S. Fleet is hampered by age, an extended and vulnerable logistics pipeline, and inadequate numbers in certain categories of first-line ships. The Fleet is in fact "walking a tightrope of adequacy," and must depend increasingly on NATO forces to maintain a favorable naval balance vis-a-vis the Soviet Union.

1794
Kolodziej, Edward A. FRANCE ENSNARED: FRENCH STRATEGIC POLICY AND BLOC POLITICS AFTER 1968. Orbis, v. 15, winter 1972: 1085-1108. D839.068, v. 15

Appraises the principal components and internal and external factors that have prompted the shift in French strategic policy in the post-1968 period. Changes in its strategic policy, alliance diplomacy, and expenditure programs for weapons systems began during President de Gaulle's final year in office and culminated in the third military five-year program. Although France attempted to repair its relations with the United States, especially after the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia, by temporarily acceding to American strategic power, it did not abandon its search for independence as evidenced by an active arms export sales program, its attitudes toward the Strategic Arms Limitation Talks and mutual and balanced force reductions, and its Third World policies. Kolodziej sees little hope for an Anglo-French deterrent force in view of the political and security problems. He concludes that while France will focus its immediate efforts on strengthening its domestic political and economic base, it will continue to work toward increased influence abroad and national independence: The Pompidou Government is "bid[ing] its time for the day when again France might attempt to dominate the world stage on questions of peace and war."

1795
Kupperman, Robert H., and Harvey A. Smith. STRATEGIES OF MUTUAL DETERRENCE. Science, v. 176, Apr. 7, 1972: 18-23. illus. Q1.S35, v. 176

Offers mathematical analyses for evaluating the effects of strategic weapons systems on the mutual deterrence capabilities of nuclear powers. Kupperman and Smith find that as the size of missile forces increases, the threat of a successful first strike decreases, thereby stabilizing an arms race based on assured-destruction capabilities. However, as more parties appear, the number of missiles each requires increases so rapidly as to render maintenance of adequate forces practically uneconomical. Vulnerability is a key element in determining the necessary size. A "shell game" solution of maintaining empty and missile-filled silos would prove economical but subject to a first strike after an opponent determined the deployment pattern. "'Ambiguous' ABM systems capable of defending either missiles or urban centers are found to be undesirable in most cases (even if they are costless), but 'unambiguous' ABM systems capable only of protecting missile forces can avoid escalation and hence be less expensive than increasing the missile force." A high level of armaments can prove stabilizing in an assured-destruction context, but destabilizing if a "war-fighting" strategy--reserving weapons for a second, third, fourth, or still more strikes--is followed. As the number of strategically armed nations increases, bombers become more economical than missiles. The more accurately a nuclear-armed submarine can be located, the more economical land-based missiles become.

1796
Kuzmack, Arnold M. WHERE DOES THE NAVY GO FROM HERE? In U.S. Command and General Staff College, Fort Leavenworth. Military review, v. 52, Feb. 1972: 37-51. illus. Z6723.U35, v. 52

Though the Navy has done surprisingly well in recent years in the competition for the budget dollar, its resources are still far from unlimited and some unpalatable choices between weapons systems, force levels, and rates of modernization will have to be made. Carrier force levels are perhaps the major item to reconsider. Carrier forces have unique advantages, being especially useful as a peacetime presence in international waters and as an intervention force in time of crisis. But they also have their drawbacks, among them high cost and vulnerability at certain levels of conflict. The peacetime and crisis missions might justify a carrier force of nine vessels. Whether that number should be exceeded depends on whether one accepts, partially accepts, or totally rejects--apparently the Navy's position--the arguments concerning carrier cost and vulnerability. One thing is certain: The times are changing and the Navy's force structure must change with them. It is imperative that the carrier's role and carrier force levels be reevaluated in light of the changed circumstances.

1797
Laird, Melvin R. WHY SOVIET ARMS WORRY U.S. U.S. news & world report, v. 72, Mar. 27, 1972: 41-46. illus. JK1.U65, v. 72

An interview with Secretary of Defense Melvin R. Laird, who responds to questions concerning the

administration's policy of "realistic deterrence," the strategic balance between the two superpowers, the Strategic Arms Limitation Talks, the buildup of the Soviet Navy, the strategic situation in the Mediterranean and the Indian Ocean, proposed troop withdrawals from Europe, mutual and balanced force reductions in Europe, the U.S. military posture vis-a-vis China, Vietnamization, personnel problems in the armed services, and the draft. Laird is optimistic about achieving a strategic arms limitation agreement with the Soviet Union in the "not too distant future." He also suggests that this might be extended to include conventional weapons at a later date. But the United States must insist that all arms control agreements be verifiable and mutual. "In some cases this would require onsite inspection, but in many areas there are other means of verification which can be used."

1798
Larson, Arthur D., comp. CIVIL-MILITARY RELATIONS AND MILITARISM; A CLASSIFIED BIBLIOGRAPHY COVERING THE UNITED STATES AND OTHER NATIONS OF THE WORLD, WITH INTRODUCTORY NOTES. Manhattan, Kansas State University Library, 1971. 113 p. (Kansas State University Library. Bibliography series, no. 9)
Z7165.U5L3

Contents.--Introduction: The world-wide civil-military relations crisis.--pt. 1. General and introductory material on civil-military relations. --pt. 2. Civil-military relations in the United States: History and traditions. Policy, management, and control. Civil-military relations since World War II. Domestic aspects of mobilization. Military institution and its functions.--pt. 3. Civil-military relations in foreign countries and areas.

Lists English-language materials dealing with civil-military relations and related fields. Larson concentrates on the United States, including material on foreign nations "primarily to provide a comparative perspective."

1799
Lathe, Heinz. [THE SOVIET ARMY TODAY] Die Sowjetarmee heute. Schweizer Soldat, v. 47, Mar. 1972: 10-13. illus. U3.S23, v. 47

The loyalty of the Soviet soldier to Communist ideology is a result of a continuing indoctrination begun in earliest childhood, for all institutions and media in the Soviet Union stress military service as the highest duty for the fatherland. This appeal to military patriotism contrasts markedly with the humanitarian tone of the Kruschchev years when the horrors of war were a frequent literary theme. Objection to military service is, therefore, practically unknown and within the service there are no major disciplinary problems. While the Red Army is a favored institution and its members hailed as "workers in uniform," restraints in the system prevent the military from becoming a state within a state, and political instruction ensures obedience to the Party. The army enjoys broad support among the populace: The young regard it as a vehicle for adventure and travel and the older citizens see it as a conservative element curbing the excesses of youth.

1800
Licklider, Roy E. THE PRIVATE NUCLEAR STRATEGISTS. [Columbus] Ohio State University Press [c1971] 213 p. illus. UA23.L56
Includes bibliographical references.

Contents.--Introduction.--The perceived influentials.--Soldiers and civilians.--Motivation and frustration.--Employment in nuclear strategy and disarmament.--Strategy and the academic disciplines.--Professionalism in strategy and disarmament.--Views and prospects.--Appendix A: sources of the master bibliography.--Appendix B: mail questionnaire.--Appendix C: sample and population.--Index.

Investigates and evaluates the attitudes and characteristics of "those individuals who are concerned with nuclear strategy and disarmament and who are not employed by the government," a group which has "practically invented the whole idea of arms control that has become a recognized part of American policy." From a population of 491 private citizens who had written one or more books or three or more articles or papers on nuclear weapons policy between 1946 and 1964, Licklider received 191 replies to an 11-page questionnaire mailed in 1966. The responses of this 39-percent sample were then analyzed. Sense of community, perceived influence, academic orientation, relations with the military, personal motivation, employment patterns and their relation to policy attitudes and reading habits, and conceptions of professionalism are examined. Licklider sees the private nuclear strategists as a permanent influence in the American strategic community, but discounts any threat to American democratic institutions from their newly-found importance.

1801
Maffre, John. JOINT CHIEFS OF STAFF RISE IN INFLUENCE AS U.S. ENTERS PERIOD OF RETRENCHMENT. National journal, v. 4, Feb. 5, 1972: 227-237. illus. JK1.N28, v. 4

Under President Nixon the influence of the Joint Chiefs of Staff (JCS) is on the rise once again after the decade of the 1960's when Secretary of Defense Robert McNamara diminished the importance of their decisionmaking role. The Joint Chiefs currently have more ready access to the President and participate more closely with Secretary of Defense Laird in managing that department and preparing its budget than under either Kennedy or Johnson. The influence of the defense systems analysis office and the international security affairs office, both of which frequently opposed the

JCS, has been curtailed. It is ironic, however, that the revived influence of the JCS would coincide with an unprecedented peacetime retrenchment of the military establishment. While the Joint Chiefs of Staff are currently more influential at the Pentagon than before, they are less influential in the National Security Council under Nixon. There is concern among members of Congress that the opinions of the JCS may not be sought or heeded by the executive branch. Despite retrenchment the military will continue to be a force in foreign policy formulation.

1802
Moll, Kenneth L. REALISTIC DETERRENCE AND NEW STRATEGY. Air University review, v. 23, Nov./Dec. 1971: 2-12. illus.
TL501.A5574, v. 23

A study of U.S. Secretary of Defense Melvin Laird's Defense Report of March 15, 1971, and the accompanying budget request reveals that the "strategy of realistic deterrence" is still evolving. Though much has already been done to give substance to the new concept, the "final and definitive . . . strategy has not yet evolved, and the final force-structure concepts have not been determined." What distinguishes this approach from its predecessors, massive retaliation and flexible response, is the stress on deterrence of wars in the lower part of the conflict spectrum. Though this is to be achieved largely through the strengthening of friendly powers, America will still be expected to make a military contribution. This will be governed by the Total Force Approach, which envisions the application of "all appropriate resources for deterrence," and which aims to increase Presidential options with reduced resources and personnel. The new approach is yet to be translated into force structure, however, and it is to this problem that more thought ought to be given. In this regard, it does not appear that the Army has anything new to offer. The Navy's blue water strategy shows promise but has never been spelled out in practical terms. What the new strategy requires, of course, is greater reliance on advanced technology, nuclear capable forces, and skilled manpower. The Air Force alone would seem to meet these requirements.

1803
Nelson, Walter H. GERMANY REARMED. New York, Simon and Schuster [1972] 354 p. illus.
DD259.2.N38
Bibliography: p. 315-327.

Contents.--From pariahs to partners.--Neither legitimate nor a child of love.--The gnawing cancer of the past.--A Jew in German jackboots?--In the hatcheries: a new leadership elite.--"Who's in charge here, anyway?"--Social climbing in the pecking order.--Heads buried in the sands of time.--Jesuits in jackboots and the counterreformation.--The war of words.--Soft shoulders for steel helmets.--The restrained invasion.--"The army of the working class."--The Red Prussians.--Has the leopard changed his spots?--Acknowledgments.--Notes.--Bibliography.--Index.

Investigates the possibility of a resurgence of militarism and aggression as a result of the rearmament of West and East Germany. Nelson delineates the totally different environments in which the rearmament of the two states has taken place. In West Germany, there is no longer the aristocratic military caste of old; the armed forces are under civilian control and totally integrated into the NATO command structure. In East Germany, where the outward appearances of the old Prussianism have surfaced, the armed forces are motivated by fear and not by conviction. Nelson concludes "However strong both Germanies are militarily and economically--and the only nations stronger in either bloc are the United States and Soviet Russia --the simple fact is that neither is powerful enough to even defend itself without allies, much less do anything to disturb the peace." Thus, the responsibility for maintaining peace lies not with the Germanys but rather with the United States and the Soviet Union.

1804
Neubauer, Günter. [DEFENSE ECONOMICS. A CONTRIBUTION TO THE OBJECTIFICATION OF DEFENSE POLICY] Verteidigungsökonomie. Ein Beitrag zur Versachlichung der Verteidigungspolitik. Wehrkunde, v. 21, Apr. 1972: 201-203.
U3.W396, v. 21

In a peacetime democratic society operating on a market economy defense is a product subject, like any other, to the stress between perceived needs and scarce resources. In this case the product is a service, "defense readiness," which cannot be stored and must be continuously produced to meet the perceived need for a credible defense against foreign threats of the use of force. In a mass democracy with high-level prosperity competition for resources is keen, with economists and politicians meeting to reconcile military strategy and overall economic goals. One has only to recall how the procurement of military hardware was determined by the balance-of-payments issue. Once the defense budget has been agreed upon, optimal allocation within the defense establishment requires analyses of alternatives such as career service, citizen forces, military alliance, etc. Complicating the cost factor is the absence of a reliable cost-success equation. "Even if a quantification of the output of the armed forces could be carried out permitting full rationalization of their internal operations, the danger still exists that production would overshoot the 'market'." The inference here for the military (Bundeswehr) is the need always to keep the public aware of how its defense needs are being satisfied. As international treaties, monitored and guaranteed, lessen the external threat, the perceived need for defense services decline and defense budgets are trimmed; the question then arises whether there is not a concomitant increase in the need for "inter-

nal security," given the close relationship between internal and external threat perception. From these comments it becomes evident that defense economics is a discipline in its own right.

1805
Neumann, Erich P. [NATO BETWEEN WEST AND EAST. WHAT THE POPULATION THINKS ABOUT IT] NATO zwischen West und Ost. Was die Bevölkerung darüber denkt. Politische Meinung, v. 17, Jan./Feb. 1972: 59-67. illus. H5.P75, v. 17

Uses the results of a September 1971 opinion survey in West Germany on the efficacy of NATO to point up the need for better public relations. The results show continued if somewhat decreased support for NATO despite the Government's Ostpolitik. While there has been a slight drop in support vis-a-vis a January 1969 opinion canvas, most West Germans still want membership in NATO. There has been a significant decline in the belief that the United States would be the NATO member most willing to supply forces in an emergency. Neumann concludes that familiarity alone does not suffice to keep the public aware of NATO's relation to world problems and that the alliance needs a more extensive public information program.

1806
Newlon, Daniel H. A VOLUNTEER DRAFT: AN ALTERNATIVE TO THE DRAFT LOTTERY. In U.S. Command and General Staff College, Fort Leavenworth. Military review, v. 52, Feb. 1972: 83-89. illus. Z6723.U35, v. 52

Outlines a proposal for the establishment of a "volunteer draft," a system under which each eligible 18-year-old would be given the choice of simple exposure to a lottery draft system; voluntary enlistment, for which he would receive a lifetime tax reduction; or exemption, in exchange for which he would be obliged to pay a surtax for as long as he remained a civilian. Newlon describes the mechanics of his system, rebuts some anticipated criticisms, and points out its advantages. Among other things, a voluntary draft would increase the after-tax income of active-duty servicemen, improve discipline and morale, and generate tax and reenlistment bonuses for drafted reenlistees and men with special skill and initiative.

1807
Pace, Dean F. NEGOTIATION AND MANAGEMENT OF DEFENSE CONTRACTS. New York, Wiley-Interscience [1970] xxviii, 835 p. illus. UC267.P3
Includes bibliographical references.

Contents.--The big picture.--Defense procurement policy.--Bidding defense contracts.--Negotiating defense contracts.--Formation of a defense contract.--Defense contracts.--Multiple incentive contract negotiation.--Pricing defense contracts.--Profit negotiation.--Financing defense contracts.--Funding defense contracts.--Property on defense contracts.--Defense subcontract negotiation.--Patents, data, and proprietary rights.--Appendixes.

Describes contracting policy and procedures of the Department of Defense and the National Aeronautics and Space Administration. The book is intended for the instruction of businessmen, scientists, administrators and others who have responsibilities for the negotiation and management of defense contracts.

1808
Pavić, Radovan. THE PROCESS OF DEMILITARIZATION AND THE WORLD SEA. Review of international affairs, v. 22, Dec. 20, 1971: 23-25. D839.R4, v. 22

Despite the disarmament talks in progress, nations continue to arm themselves primarily because militarization boosts their economies. The process of militarization originates in the West and stimulates the East to imitation by creating a feeling of insecurity. With the recognition that no nation can soon achieve a decisive advantage in the arms race and that total war is impossible, strategists have returned to the concept of classical global geostrategy that the sea is an essential geostrategical factor. Future militarization will occur largely at sea because it is more practical and less costly than space for displaying and deploying national power and expanded territorial waters require increased protection. Though tensions mount in the world sea, "limited war waged exclusively a[t] sea need not be considered a possibility today." The militarization of the sea will increase as nations respond to the economic and military growth of Communist China.

1809
Peltier, Marius. [RUSSIA'S IMPERIAL MARITIME ROUTES] Les routes maritimes impériales de l'URSS. Revue militaire générale; general military review, May 1971: 698-708. U2.R48, 1971
Includes summaries in English and German.

Outlines the Soviet Union's past and present efforts to establish its influence over the world's strategic maritime routes. The Russian Navy's expansion into the Indian, western Pacific, and Arctic oceans, its progress in opening up the northern route from Murmansk to the outlet of the Bering Strait, and its emergence in the Mediterranean and the Persian Gulf area reflect the crucial role the navy plays in projecting Moscow's global power. Peltier concludes that Russia's presence in the Mediterranean has its risks in view of the vulnerability of the Suez Canal and the political instability of South Asia and East Africa.

1810
Pergent, J. [FRENCH TERRITORIAL DEFENSE] Die französische territoriale Verteidigung. Österreichische militärische Zeitschrift, v. 10, Jan./Feb. 1972: 33-37. illus.
U3.034, v. 10

J. Pergent is the pseudonym of Jacques Perret-Gentil.

Expository account of the command, organization, mission and training of the French territorial defense force. The basic principles call for the recognition of the necessity of casting territorial defense in an active form and of constructing it as a combination of military and civil elements within the framework of universal military service, utilizing the large military and civil administrative regions. Pergent calls the French concept "new and original," particularly in its anticipation that tomorrow's combat may not be limited to actions along the perimeter of the state. "War possesses fluctuating forms and thus makes harsh demands on defensive operations. It cannot be sufficiently emphasized that these can be met only in close symbiosis between all regions of the country, between all state facilities, and with recourse to all military and civilian means."

1811
Pierre, Andrew J. NUCLEAR POLITICS; THE BRITISH EXPERIENCE WITH AN INDEPENDENT STRATEGIC FORCE, 1939-1970. London, Oxford University Press, 1972. 378 p. UA647.P43
Bibliography: p. [349]-366.

Contents.--Introduction.--pt. 1. The wartime genesis, 1939-1945: The decision to begin the British atom bomb project. Setting the terms of Anglo-American nuclear collaboration. Wartime planning for a post-war nuclear programme.--pt. 2. Towards the "independent nuclear deterrent", 1945-1957: Defence policy: the pre-detonation period. Defence policy: evolution of the concept of the "independent nuclear deterrent." Developing the nuclear capability. Developing the delivery capability.--pt. 3. The great nuclear debate, 1957-1964: The issues emergent. Skybolt, Nassau, the MLF, and the 1964 general election.--pt. 4. The dénouement, 1964-1970: The Labour Government and the nuclear force.--pt. 5. Conclusions: The past as prologue.--Tables.--Appendix.--Bibliography.--Index.

Traces the evolution of British strategic nuclear policies to examine the actual experience of a middle-level nuclear power with its deterrent force. Pierre concludes that "the British nuclear force has been as much a product of political, economic, military, scientific, and bureaucratic interests, pressures, and perspectives as it has been of strategic analysis and theoretical logic," a strong impetus being the desire to exercise a full measure of influence on the United States. He also finds that through its continuing decision to retain an independent nuclear force, Britain harmed the cause of nonproliferation, often weakened and obscured its defense policy by seeking both strategic independence and interdependence with the United States, damaged its long-term interests by encouraging aloofness from Europe, and attempted to compete technologically with the United States and the Soviet Union without a clear understanding of the many problems involved. Pierre sets forth a number of future strategic options for Britain, concluding that it will retain its nuclear force in some form, so that, barring a multilateral arrangement, "Britain will remain an important nuclear power in an international system of possibly many nuclear powers."

1812
Pritchard, Charles G. THE SOVIET MARINES. In United States Naval Institute, Annapolis. Proceedings, v. 98, Mar. 1972: 18-30. illus.
V1.U8, v. 98

Traces the development of the Soviet Marines from the two regiments of foot soldiers transferred to the Baltic Fleet by Peter the Great in 1705 to the present force of 15,000 men. Following the death of Stalin, the Marines virtually disappeared as a result of the priority given nuclear missile forces. After the Cuban missile crisis the Soviet Marines were reactivated as a part of a larger naval buildup under the direction of Admiral Gorshkov. Today the Marines have progressed remarkably in acquiring the skills relevant to modern concepts of amphibious warfare. Pritchard emphasizes that the most significant factor about the Soviet Marines is their very appearance as an active peacetime force.

1813
PUBLIC OPINION AND THE MILITARY ESTABLISHMENT. Edited by Charles C. Moskos, Jr. Beverly Hills, Calif., Sage Publications, 1971. 294 p. (Sage research progress series on war, revolution, and peacekeeping, v. 1)
UA23.P85
Compiled under the auspices of the Inter-university Seminar on Armed Forces and Society.
Includes bibliographies.

Contents.--Introduction.--pt. 1. Military education and civilian values: Recent trends at American service academies, by Laurence I. Radway. "Professional" and "citizen" officers: a comparison of academy and ROTC officer candidates, by Peter Karsten. The ROTC: military service on the college campus, by Nona Glazer-Malbin. Anticipatory socialization and the ROTC, by William A. Lucas.--pt. 2. Civilian response to military roles: The military as a welfare institution, by Bernard Beck. The military mission against off-base discrimination, by David Sutton. The Armed Forces examining station: a sociological perspective, by Leon Bramson. Disaffection, delegitimation, and consequences: aggregate trends for World War II,

Korea and Vietnam, by Robert B. Smith.--pt. 3. The emergent military establishment: The emergent military, by Morris Janowitz. The new estrangement: Armed Forces and American society, by Charles C. Moskos, Jr.

Essays that examine the sociological import of public attitudes and societal definitions of the military establishment. This is the first volume in a new series of "studies demonstrating both intellectual continuity and new approaches in the analysis of armed forces and society."

1814

Réchin, Paul. [PROTECTING THE POPULATION IN WARTIME] Protéger les populations en temps de guerre. Revue militaire générale; general military review, Dec. 1971: 688-700.
U2.R48, 1971
Includes summaries in English and German.

Summary of some of the problems and measures involved in population protection during a nuclear or conventional attack. Réchin argues that it is possible to protect populations against biological and chemical agents through appropriate civil defense education. He concludes that population protection in wartime is a very important aspect of collective organization for survival and that each citizen should be convinced of the necessity of learning the protective methods.

1815

Reiss, Willi. [THE SIGNIFICANCE OF ICELAND FOR NATO] Die Bedeutung Islands für die NATO. Marine Rundschau, v. 69, May 1972: 279-291. illus.
V3.M3, v. 69

Iceland has rapidly assumed a key position in the strategic balance in the North Atlantic. Iceland's assent to the stationing of American forces on its soil makes the island's contribution to NATO a vital one. The island's geography provides an important Early Warning System for NATO, flank security for the sealanes between Europe and the United States, and a midway staging area for the delivery of aircraft and supplies to NATO forces. NATO should continue to maintain forces on the island and to monitor Soviet sea and air movements in the area. Should Iceland bar a continued American presence or should the United States gradually reduce its forces, NATO should insist on retention of the radar network, the unlimited right to send in troops in the event of a crisis, and a share in the funding and staffing of the Keflavik base.

1816

Rosecrance, Richard N., comp. THE FUTURE OF THE INTERNATIONAL STRATEGIC SYSTEM. San Francisco, Chandler Pub. Co. [1972] 219 p. illus. (Chandler publications in political science)
U163.R67

"Published under the auspices of the Institute of International Studies, University of California, Berkeley."
Bibliography: p. 203-207.

Contents.--Preface.--Notes on the contributors.--Introduction, by Richard Rosecrance.--pt. 1. Military analysis: Some remarks on multipolar nuclear strategy, by Donald G. Brennan. Superpower strategic postures for a multipolar world, by Malcolm W. Hoag. The unit-veto system reconsidered, by Morton A. Kaplan. The politics of twenty nuclear powers, by George H. Quester.--pt. 2. Modular analysis: The weapon as an element in the social system, by Kenneth E. Boulding. A simple probabilistic model of nuclear multipolarity, by John Harsanyi. Security equilibria, by Reinhard Selten and Reinhard Tietz.--pt. 3. Deterrence and reward: Deterrence in dyadic and multipolar environments, by Richard Rosecrance. International organization and reward: Potentialities and limitations, by Richard N. Gardner. Multilateral incentives for limiting international violence, by Ernst B. Haas. Reward, punishment, and the future, by Richard Rosecrance.--Appendix: A formal theory of security equilibria, by Reinhard Selten and Reinhard Tietz.--Bibliography.--Index.

Views international stability in a future multipolar nuclear system from the two perspectives of military and game theories, analyzes the problems of applying bilateral deterrence theory in a multipolar nuclear world, and speculates on the possible stabilization of a future multipolar system which may be more unstable than the present bipolarity. The authors generally agree that the proliferation of nuclear weapons may destabilize the international system. Brennan believes that because the spread of nuclear weapons will make it possible for an unidentified secondary power to stimulate an attack by one of the two major powers on the other, it is important for the United States to have antiballistic missile defenses.

1817

Ruge, Gerd. [EVERYTHING HAS ITS MOMENT--EVEN THE BATTLE TANK] Jegliches hat seine Zeit--auch der Kampfpanzer. Wehrkunde, v. 21, Mar. 1972: 131-135.
U3.W396, v. 21

A passionate controversy has broken out between those West German military men who favor an offensively-oriented defense strategy that would rely heavily on battle tanks, and others who support a more defensive concept. Although battle tanks allow greater maneuverability, they are expensive and could never be built in sufficient quantities to match the probable opponent's commanding lead nor could they be furnished the necessary air cover. The offensive posture of the opposing forces, the nature of local terrain, and the limitations of the West German budget bespeak the need for a defensive strategy that makes use of light and relatively inexpensive antitank weapons such as tank destroyers and missiles. This concept would

permit a truly forward defense and correspond more appropriately to a policy of political détente. Yet it would raise the nuclear threshold a bit higher and thus serve as a better conventional deterrent.

1818
Schmidt, Helmut. IMPORTANT TO KEEP A BALANCE WHILE REDUCING FORCES. In Germany (Federal Republic, 1949-) Presse- und Informationsamt. Bulletin, v. 20, Feb. 22, 1972: 45-46, 48.
DD259.A35, v. 20

"This article is based on a speech made by the Minister of Defence [Federal Republic of Germany] recently to the Association of the U.S. Army in Frankfurt."

The West German Government pursues three security objectives: the maintenance of a stable military balance in Europe, détente, and a limitation of arms and force levels. The success of this three-pronged policy means vigorous support of the Atlantic Alliance and the concept of mutual and balanced force reductions. "As long as the Soviet forces stay within European countries where they do not belong, there is nothing in the foreseeable future that could replace the United States' military presence in Europe. . . ." Both the United States and West Germany are seeking to limit the arms race. Whether or not accords are reached via the Strategic Arms Limitation Talks or mutual and balanced force reduction negotiations, it is important to maintain the military balance in Europe.

1819
Schoffield, B. B. THE NEED FOR AN ANGLO-FRENCH MARITIME NUCLEAR ENTENTE. Revue militaire générale; general military review, Dec. 1971: 644-654.
U2.R48, 1971

Includes summaries in French and German.

If America's determination to risk nuclear retaliation on behalf of Western Europe diminishes, the importance of Great Britain's and France's nuclear-powered ballistic missile submarine fleets becomes paramount. These two countries ought to combine their nuclear maritime fleets to deter against Soviet nuclear blackmail. Although this does not mean that London and Paris would have to pool their nuclear weapons systems, it does involve a merging of technological resources and the coordination of target planning. Despite the political and technical obstacles to such a merger, like the MacMahon Act, an Anglo-French nuclear maritime entente is possible given the will to do so. Separately, these forces cannot deter a Soviet attack, but together they could maintain a second-strike capability that could ensure Europe's independence.

1820
Schrader, Rudolf. [INTERNATIONAL DEFENSE RESEARCH] Internationale Verteidigungsforschung. Aussenpolitik, v. 23, Feb. 1972: 95-102.
D839.A885, v. 23

International research can be an important instrument for strengthening Western defense. There are three levels of scientific and technical collaboration. They are in increasing order of intimacy: exchange of data, cooperative research programs, and joint research institutes. Examples of the last are NATO's Technical Center, its Antisubmarine Warfare Research center, and the Franco-German institute for weapons research. Close international research includes among its advantages the lessening of duplication, cost reductions, and distribution of responsibilities among a greater cross-section of talent. Obstacles to close collaboration are national demands for secrecy, the limited number of technical areas in which both small and large states can operate on a basis of equality of competence, organizational differences among states deriving from their historical development and the language barrier.

1821
Scoville, Herbert. LAIRD'S LATEST ALARMS. New republic, v. 166, Mar. 25, 1972: 11-15. illus.
AP2.N624, v. 166

The administration has pointed out the increase in Soviet strategic capabilities without mentioning that the United States is expanding its own forces. "The administration policy of 'sufficiency' is only superiority in another cloak." The United States is arming its land- and sea-based missile forces with multiple independently targetable reentry vehicles (MIRVs), planning a new strategic submarine (ULMS), developing a new bomber, the B-1, and deploying the Safeguard antimissile defense system (ABM). Defense Secretary Laird has justified these steps by citing the "momentum" of the Soviet strategic buildup. But Soviet missile deployment has slowed considerably. There is no evidence that the Soviets even have a MIRV program at present, and years of testing are required before an operational system can be deployed. When current construction is completed, the Soviets will have attained only parity in strategic submarines. The new Soviet bomber is only a medium-range aircraft, most likely intended for use in Eurasian theaters, that poses little danger to North America. The Moscow ABM could easily be overcome by a few U.S. missiles, and a limitation on ABMs is a likely consequence of the Strategic Arms Limitation Talks (SALT). Even if SALT collapsed, a conceivable threat from the Soviet ABM is years away. "In sum, in its current round of budget requests the administration has been crying wolf: it has not come forth with a single new development in the last year that in any way demonstrates a new threat to our strategic deterrent."

1822
SEA POWER COMES BACK INTO ITS OWN. Economist, v. 242, Feb. 5, 1972: 43-44. illus.
HG11.E2, v. 242

Although a planned fourth nuclear-powered aircraft carrier will not be requested in the U.S. defense budget until next year, $299 million will be asked for advance work on the ship's power plant. Also requested is $942 million for a new undersea long-range missile system. Congressional controversy over defense requests is expected. Budget opponents argue that the proposals do not discriminate among deterrents but allot large amounts for multiple warheads, the Safeguard system, and the B-1 bomber. However, the Navy will still be getting the most sizeable increases in order to update its fleet and develop some new fast ships to carry missiles or short take-off aircraft.

1823
Sellers, Robert C., comp. ARMED FORCES OF THE WORLD; A REFERENCE HANDBOOK. 3d ed. New York, Praeger Publishers [1971] 296 p. (Praeger special studies in international politics and public affairs) UA15.R43

Presents data on the military forces of all nations. For each country, Sellers gives the defense budget, national population, defense manpower, and the percentage of gross national product spent on defense. The manpower, organization or mission, and principal equipment of the army, navy and air force are delineated. Included as miscellaneous data are defense agreements, military assistance received or given, strength of central internal security forces, and nature of conscription laws. Appendixes list membership in major defense arrangements, U.S. defense commitments, domestic conventional weapons production capabilities, nuclear and space weapons capabilities of the major nations, and names and addresses of all national defense ministries. Sellers estimates the margin of error in his figures to be "in the order of 8 to 10 percent."

1824
Sights, Albert P. STRATEGIC BOMBING AND CHANGING TIMES. Air University review, v. 23, Jan./Feb. 1972: 14-26. illus.
TL501.A5574, v. 23

Brief history of aerial bombardment from World War I to the present. Sights discusses the changes in the role of air power brought about by nuclear weapons and notes that with the advent of the intercontinental ballistic missile and of strategic parity nuclear forces lost their political leverage because of increasing doubts as to their actual use. He concludes that if another great war does come, it will be fought with conventional weapons and that the strategists studying the tactics and weapons of the last war will be the winners of the next.

1825
Silverman, Peter. CANADIAN DEFENCE POLICY. In Royal United Services Institute, London. Journal, v. 116, Dec. 1971: 40-45. illus.
U1.R8, v. 116

Traces the development of Canadian defense policy from the beginning of the cold war to the Defense White Paper of 1971. Silverman questions the policy reversals giving present top priority to guarding Canadian sovereignty and assisting the civil authorities to maintain internal order. Silverman discusses contradictory Canadian desires for absolute sovereignty and also for power among the defense councils of the West, while integration of Canadian and American defense policies has proceeded apace. He is apprehensive about the possible Canadian withdrawal from NATO and NORAD by 1973 and complete Canadian dependence on American protection.

1826
Sobik, Erich. [THE RED CHINESE PEOPLE'S LIBERATION ARMY] Die rotchinesische Volksbefreiungsarmee. Allgemeine schweizerische Militärzeitschrift, v. 138, Apr. 1972: 193-196; and May 1972: 258, 261-262. U3.A43, v. 138

Reviews Communist Chinese military doctrine, the state of the People's Liberation Army (PLA), its role in the Cultural Revolution, and its strategic capabilities. Sobik concludes that there is no immediate danger of a war against the Soviet Union. Mao's doctrine is offensively-oriented and revolutionary, but Chinese military doctrine is defensive in nature and pragmatic. For this reason, Sobik asserts, the offensive capabilities of the PLA are maintained at a low level. Although China has made marked progress in the development of nuclear weapons, its arsenal has only a modest retaliatory or deterrent capability and will not rival that of the United States or the Soviet Union for years to come. Because of China's extensive ground forces, to challenge Peking the Soviet Union would require many times the forces that it now maintains along the Chinese border in addition to its nuclear capability. Even a Soviet preemptive strike against Chinese nuclear facilities would not solve the Sino-Soviet conflict; it would destroy only whatever element of reason yet exists for its resolution.

1827
THE SOVIET NAVAL THREAT: REALITY AND ILLUSION. Defense monitor, v. 1, May 1972: 1-7. illus.
DLC

Compares graphically U.S./Soviet and NATO/Warsaw Pact naval strength and reassesses the Department of Defense [DOD] interpretation of the data to find the naval balance heavily in favor of the United States and NATO and not likely to shift in the near future. The report concludes that the extensive naval buildup planned by DOD is not justified since the Soviet Union is doing little to alter the balance in its favor. Because DOD has been using the "naval balance" argument to gain

support for its planned naval buildup, before additional programs are approved and funded by Congress, DOD must clearly define the real purposes behind its planned naval buildup.

1828
Sparkman, John. FOREIGN ASSISTANCE ACT OF 1972. Remarks in the Senate of the United States, June 12, 1972. Congressional record [daily ed.] Ninety-second Congress, second session, v. 118: S9199-S9210. J11.R52, v. 118

Senate debate over the 1973 foreign assistance authorization bill. Senator John Sparkman notes that the Foreign Relations Committee reduced the executive branch request by $.5 billion to $2.25 billion and that the $1.65 billion for military assistance is only one-third of the actual proposed military assistance for fiscal 1973. Not included in this authorization are, for example, $2 billion for South Vietnam, Laos and the Korean forces in Vietnam, or most of the costs of supporting 47 U.S. military missions abroad. Several tables give country-by-country data on the military programs proposed in this bill like the security assistance, military grant, foreign military credit sales, excess defense articles, and military sales programs.

1829
Sprigath, Gabriele. [ON MILITARY AND POLITICAL DEVELOPMENTS IN INDOCHINA] Zur militärischen und politischen Entwicklung in Indochina. Blätter für deutsche und internationale Politik, v. 17, Feb. 1972: 182-191. D839.B57, v. 17

Depicts American troop withdrawals and Washington's Vietnamization program from the Communist viewpoint as a new strategy for the attainment of the same old neocolonial goals. The change of means is indicative of the growing American defeat in Southeast Asia. Despite the attack on Cambodia and Laos and Vietnamization, the National Liberation Front controls most of the countryside, Americans have lost the initiative and are forced to hole up in their huge fortified enclaves, and the Saigon army is disintegrating. Washington's eight-point peace program branding North Vietnam an aggressor is plainly designed to allow Saigon forces to take over the liberated areas following North Vietnamese withdrawals. The Provisional Revolutionary Governement in South Vietnam regards the Americans as the aggressors, whose unconditional withdrawal is necessary for the restoration of peace in Indochina.

1830
Stephens, Herbert W. THE ROLE OF THE LEGISLATIVE COMMITTEES IN THE APPROPRIATIONS PROCESS: A STUDY FOCUSED ON THE ARMED SERVICES COMMITTEES. Western political quarterly, v. 24, Mar. 1971: 146-162. illus. JA1.W4, v. 24

Reports the results of a study of the effectiveness of the House and Senate Armed Services Committees in controlling the appropriations process and enforcing responsibility on the executive bureaucracy. This study challenges the widespread assumption that the Appropriations Committees are decisive in this area. Stephens finds that the two Armed Services Committees have greatly expanded their role and authority since 1959. In successive steps, they "have been successful in subjecting increasingly greater portions of the defense budget to a requirement of annual authorization and, at the same time, have instituted procedures to make the authority more effective." The results of the study suggest, among other things, that the authorization process, if aggressively used, can be an effective tool for influencing appropriations and enforcing greater bureaucratic responsibility, and that an annual authorization of expenditure items, even in the military budget, may be practicable.

1831
Tracy, James L. AN ALTERNATE APPROACH TO DEFENSE ORGANIZATION. In U.S. Command and General Staff College, Fort Leavenworth. Military review, v. 52, May 1972: 43-50. illus. Z6723.U35, v. 52

Suggests a "systems approach" to U.S. defense organization. In this approach, the defense organization is seen as a functional subsystem of the society at large, thus making possible explicit and rational dealings with the complex interaction web that meshes the defense organization with its environment. It also makes possible a more realistic approach to decisionmaking, not at one but at all levels of action. A major drawback is the present insufficiency of data on many of the relevant social processes.

1832
[TWENTY-SECOND ANNUAL AIR FORCE ALMANAC.] Air Force magazine, v. 55, May 1972: 45-60, 63-72, 75-92, 94-108, 111-138, 140-149. illus. UG633.A65, v. 55

Partial contents.--Development flexibility and cost discipline, by Robert C. Seamans, Jr.--A rationale for adequate US aerospace forces, by John D. Ryan.--SAC--hard core of the US deterrent.--USAFE--American air shield for Europe.--PACAF--air superiority in the Pacific.--AFSC--a step ahead of history.--ADC--detection and defense.--AAC--top cover for America.--USAFSO--Samaritan south of the border.--USAFSS--communications security.--ACIC--mapping earth and sky.--A gallery of USAF's first-line weapon systems.--USAF's bases at home and abroad--a concise guide.

Summarizes U.S. Air Force policies, programs, and organizational makeup, including profiles of major air commands and separate operating agencies.

1833
U.S. Congress. House. Committee on Armed Services. SUPPLEMENTARY HEARINGS ON DEFENSE PROCUREMENT AU-

THORIZATION RELATING TO SALT AGREEMENT. Hearings, Ninety-second Congress, second session. June 6 and 13, 1972. Washington, U.S. Govt. Print. Off., 1971: 12098.8-12098.92.
DLC

Statements and testimony by Secretary Melvin Laird and other Defense Department officials to substantiate request for funds arising from the adjustment of strategic programs to the Strategic Arms Limitation Talks (SALT) and the augmentation of U.S. air and naval activities in Southeast Asia in response to North Vietnamese aggression. Among the issues raised at the hearings were measures necessary to maintain a realistic strategic deterrent, impact of the SALT agreements, and the current North Vietnamese offensive.

1834
U.S. Dept. of the Army. COMMUNIST NORTH KOREA; A BIBLIOGRAPHIC SURVEY. Washington; [For sale by the Supt. of Docs., U.S. Govt. Print. Off.] 1971. 130 p. illus. Z3321.U53
Cover title.
"DA pamphlet 550-11."
Supt. of Docs. no.: D101.22:550-11.

Partial contents.--Roots and ferment: problems and prospects for the future.--The menace of North Korea's aggressiveness and belligerence.--The pressures of the Korean struggle: the fragile peace.--North Korea's military posture: the armed forces and the military potential.--The aggressive assertion of sovereignty.--The Korean war, 1950-1953.--Appendixes.

Contains over 300 citations of unclassified publications on North Korea covering the periods 1950 to 1953 and 1965 to 1970. Appendixes include an organizational chart of the North Korean military structure.

1835
Wegener, Edward. THEORY OF NAVAL STRATEGY IN THE NUCLEAR AGE. In United States Naval Institute, Annapolis. Proceedings, v. 98, May 1972: 190-207. illus. V1.U8, v. 98

Examines nuclear-age naval strategy within the framework of Alfred T. Mahan's doctrine of seapower. Wegener discusses the prerequisites and exercise of seapower, raider warfare, strategic weapons carriers at sea, strategic naval offensive and defensive operations, maritime presence and maritime power in nonwar situations. He concludes that from the point of view of seapower the Soviet Union has virtually no surface effectiveness. The Soviet fleet, operating from four widely separated bases, would not be able to unite as long as Western aircraft carriers remained operative. However, "the Soviet positions are strong in sea areas that are immediately adjacent." To take the strategic offensive at sea, the Soviets must advance their naval strategic positions or construct an attack fleet of submarines. To counter this kind of offensive, the West would have to bar the passages between the peripheral seas to Soviet submarines and to protect its nuclear submarines and carriers by escorting them with modern subkillers. While the Soviet maritime presence has grown, this high-seas presence does not constitute the seapower necessary for mastery of the seas. Wegener concludes that were a global war to start now, "Western seapower could eliminate Soviet naval forces in the Indian Ocean, which would be engulfed by Western control of the sea in the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans."

1836
Westmoreland, William C. BIG CHANGES IN THE ARMY. U.S. news & world report, v. 72, June 19, 1972: 58-62. illus. JK1.U65, v. 72

An interview with Army Chief of Staff Gen. William C. Westmoreland in which he outlines changes being made in the U.S. Army to smooth the transition to an all-volunteer force. Among these are higher pay, improved quarters and other benefits for married men, higher enlistment standards, an end to "needless irritants," and an upgrading of material standards and leadership. The aim is to produce an army smaller in size but much improved in quality. The program, according to Westmoreland, has obtained very good results so far.

1837
Wyle, Frederick S. THE UNITED STATES AND WEST EUROPEAN SECURITY--INTERESTS, FORCES AND FINANCES. Survival, v. 14, Jan./Feb. 1972: 8-15. illus. U162.S9, v. 14

The superpowers have achieved a standoff in strategic nuclear weapons. Preservation of this status is a first and absolute priority, and it is the prime function of the Strategic Arms Limitation Talks to clarify this point and provide the means for its realization. The balance is not much affected by events in Europe, nor have the Europeans any choice but to rely upon it for their security. The situation with regard to conventional weapons is somewhat different. Whether a balance of forces exists in conventional armaments is a matter of longstanding dispute. Failure to recognize that such a balance in fact does exist so undermined the confidence of the West Europeans that many feel that they have no alternative to exclusive reliance on nuclear weapons. This unrealistic doctrine has also found favor with the U.S. Congress, where it is one of the arguments used to justify further U.S. troop withdrawals from Europe. The arguments against a U.S. troop reduction are sound, but if moves in this direction are to be thwarted, the Europeans must take some dramatic step. This might take the form of an offer to absorb local support costs. Mutual and balanced force reductions are no substitute for this, though the concept does have other possibilities--for example, as a means of phasing out predominantly "offensive" elements in the forces

of the two sides. But that lies in the future. Meanwhile, "what is needed now is to confirm the stability of the US force deployments in adequate size in Europe, of the conventional balance in Europe, and of the U.S.-European security relationship."

CONSEQUENCES OF DEFENSE POLICIES AND WAR

1838
Beebe, Gilbert W., Hiroo Kato, and Charles E. Land. STUDIES OF THE MORTALITY OF A-BOMB SURVIVORS; 4. MORTALITY AND RADIATION DOSE, 1950-1966. Radiation research, v. 48, Dec. 1971: 613-649. illus.
QC770.R3, v. 48

The new (T-65) dose estimates are used to examine the mortality of 82,300 A-bomb survivors from 1950-1966 for evidence of dose-related effects of ionizing radiation, with attention to age, sex, city of exposure, calendar time, and cause of death. The reason for the previously reported excess mortality from cancer and certain other diseases in 1950-1954 is not further clarified. Thereafter, and apart from leukemia, and possibly also diseases of the blood and blood-forming organs, there is very little evidence of a dose-dependent increase in mortality until 1962-1966, when the evidence, by no means conclusive, suggests a more general carcinogenic effect. Examination of mortality from all natural causes except malignant neoplasms provides no support for the hypothesis that atomic radiation accelerates nonspecific aging in man. Through 1966, at least, excess mortality seen in the A-bomb survivors seems best explained in terms of disease-specific effects, especially leukemogenesis and, more generally, carcinogenesis. (Abstract supplied)

1839
Benoit, Emile. GROWTH EFFECTS OF DEFENSE IN DEVELOPING COUNTRIES. International development review, v. 14, no. 1, 1972: 2-10. illus.
HC60.I546, v. 14

Based on the study by Emile Benoit with Max F. Millikan and Everett E. Hagan, Effect of Defense on Developing Economies (Cambridge, Mass.: Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Center for International Studies, January 1972, Publication No. C/71-6a).

"The research for this study was sponsored by the United States Arms Control and Disarmament Agency. . . ."

"A Comment on Professor Benoit's 'Conundrum'," by Robert Dorfman, p. 10-12; "A Rejoinder to Professor Dorfman's Comment," by Emile Benoit, p. 12-14; "An Observation on the Benoit and Dorfman Analyses," by Everett E. Hagen, p. 14-15.

Study of the effects of defense spending on the economic growth of 44 developing states in the 1950-1965 period that concludes that the "net balance between favorable and unfavorable effects is far from clear." Benoit estimates the combined impact of the effects of defense spending on the "income shift," productivity, and investment as a quarter of one percent loss in the civilian growth rate for every one percent of the gross domestic product added to the defense program. Positive growth-favoring benefits like the assurance of political stability and the stimulation of aggregate demand are not so easily quantifiable. However, Benoit's research indicated that "the simple correlation between the defense burden and the civilian growth rate was positive and far too strong to be reasonably attributed to chance." He thinks the argument equal volumes of investment would be more productive in the civil than in the defense sector not valid, because the actual alternative use is usually not the optimum alternative. The composition of a defense budget is as important as its size, so that defense planning should be closely integrated with economic planning. Dorfman notes that Benoit's long-run data suggest that the defense burden negligibly affects growth, while according to his short-run data it has great influence. He resolves the "conundrum" by assuming that the short-run defense burden acts as a surrogate for long-run investment and foreign resources. Hagen is concerned with the relationship between statistical analysis and causality, since in the example in discussion two sets of causal relationships were derived from the same statistical analyses.

1840
Beutenmüller, Jörg. [THE GROWTH OF MILITARY EXPENDITURES IN GERMANY FROM THE FOUNDING OF THE REICH TO THE PRESENT AND THEIR INFLUENCE ON ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT] Die Entwicklung der Militärausgaben in Deutschland von der Reichsgründung bis zur Gegenwart und ihr Einfluss auf das Wirtschaftswachstum. Reinheim, 1971. 148 p.
HC290.5.D4B48

Diss.--Fribourg, Switzerland.
Vita.
Bibliography: p. 143-147.

Contents.--pt. 1. Public expenditures and economic development: The long-term growth of state expenditures. State economy and economic growth. State expenditures and the position of military outlays within the framework of state expenditures. The effects of state expenditures.--pt. 2. Theory of military expenditures: Military expenditures in the older science of finance. The current state of research into the military budget. Concept of military expenditures. The breakdown of military expenditures. The growth effects of military expenditures. The overall process of military expenditures.--pt. 3. Military expenditures in Germany since 1872 with special consideration of the period after the Second World War. The development of the military budget in proportion to the Federal Government's expenditures from 1951 to 1968. The development of the military budget in proportion to the gross national product

to factor costs from 1872 to 1968. The development of military expenditures according to functional areas and their influence on the economic growth from 1951 to 1968. The effects of military expenditures on labor, real capital and technical progress. Wars and displacement effect. The effects of German military outlays on the economic trend in Germany. Conclusions.

Demonstrates that military expenditures have in fact played a role in Germany's economic growth although not in a uniform or quantifiable manner, and that defense outlays not only contribute to a state's security but promote positive economic growth.

1841
Bowen, Vaughan T., W. G. Metcalf, and John C. Burke. SHALLOW-WATER STRONTIUM-90 ANOMALY ABOUT THE ANTILLES ARC--1970. Journal of marine research, v. 30, no. 1, 1972: 112-120. illus.
GC1.J6, v. 30

Vertical profiles about the southeastern approaches to the Caribbean in early 1970 have shown a consistent Sr-90 inversion, with the maximum concentrations at depths of about 100 m. It appears that four water masses may be involved, in this area, in a very complicated mixing and overlayering phenomenon. (Abstract supplied)

1842
Carlos da Silva Muricy, Antonio. [BRAZIL AND ITS ARMY] Brasilien und sein Heer. Wehrkunde, v. 21, Mar. 1972: 123-129. illus.
U3.W396, v. 21

Defends the 1964 Brazilian revolution and the anti-Communist role played by the armed forces. In answering charges from foreign intellectuals that Brazil's military budget is too high for a developing country Silva Muricy says "the sovereignty of a country is marked by its ability to defend its borders . . . and the extent of the country [Brazil] and its international obligations assumed . . . within the framework of the United Nations and the Organization of American States require the maintenance of armed forces capable of fulfilling their constitutional and historic missions." Critics are not aware, he suggests, of the development projects undertaken by the Brazilian Army. In fact, military expenditures are not high. He cites U.S. disarmament figures to show that the relationship between the military budget and the gross national product dropped from 1964 to 1968 from 3.2 to 2.4 percent, while Cuba with 6 percent topped the list of Latin American countries. Further, Brazil has only 1.7 soldiers per 100 inhabitants, contrasted with Cuba's 5.5 and West Germany's 5.6. Only two thirds of Brazil's military budget actually go to national security and military programs; the other third is for non-military developmental and social projects.

1843
Clark, John J. VIETNAM'S LESSON IN DEFENCE ECONOMICS. In Royal United Services Institute, London. Journal, v. 116, Dec. 1971: 36-40. illus.
U1.R8, v. 116

Derives two economic strategies appropriate to the successful management of a full-employment-welfare economy in a limited war from the American experience in Vietnam. Clark finds that U.S. policy in Vietnam failed because the diplomats, soldiers, and economists did not coordinate their strategies. He thinks that the Vietnam war has taught the United States to face up to the realities, first, that military spending diverts economic resources so that fewer private goods are available, and, second, that social reforms can not be deferred by engagement in limited war. Clark suggests either the disequilibrium economic strategy which involves wage and price controls and rationing to restrain civilian consumption, or the pay-as-you-go strategy which relies on fiscal and monetary planning to hold down inflation by taxing the excess earnings generated by war-induced spending. He argues that "defence does not simply compete with civilian welfare but contributes to it by providing the foundations for internal and international security without which civilian production would falter and ultimately stop."

1844
DEFENSE SPENDING. Foreign policy, no. 6, spring 1972: 67-114. N&CPR

Contents.--The good, the bad, and the wasteful, by Morton H. Halperin.--A Presidential perspective, by Laurence J. Legere.--Why we overspend and underaccomplish, by Robert J. Art.

Three essays on the problem of controlling military expenditures. Halperin supports the use of budget ceilings as the only way to enforce a limitation on defense expenditures. He offers some advice on distinguishing between good, bad, and merely wasteful programs and recommends an aggressive role for Congress and the public in the determination of defense policy. Legere, desirous of finding means to permit the President to escape from some of his foreign policy concerns in order to devote more time to pressing domestic issues, explores the possibility of devising a military policy that will limit both expenditures and demands on the President's time while retaining the support of professional military men. Art examines the procurement procedure for large weapons systems and asks whether reforms recently enacted have been or can ever be effective in limiting, if not eliminating, cost overruns. All three authors indicate a belief that military policy and budgeting decisions are less the product of rational choice than the political outcome of a struggle for power between competing interests.

1845
[THE EFFECTS OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS ON MAN] Die Wirkungen der Atomwaffen auf den Menschen. Wehrausbil-

dung in Wort und Bild, v. 14, Dec. 1971: 565-570. illus. U570.W38, v. 14

Survey of the effects of nuclear explosion through heat, blast, and radiation and of the protective and first-aid measures to be taken. Tables indicate the extent of these effects at varying distances from ground zero and the calendar of symptoms of radiation sickness. The article is addressed to the members of the West German armed forces.

1846
King, Edward L. HOW THE ARMY DESTROYED ITSELF. Saturday review, v. 55, May 6, 1972: 29-33. illus. Z1219.S25, v. 55
"This article is adapted from [the author's] book The Death of the Army," 1972. DLC

A lust for influence disproportionate to its mission and the pursuit of parochial ambitions have led to the disintegration of the U.S. Army in Vietnam. This breakdown began in 1955 when General Maxwell Taylor and a new breed of technocrat generals took over direction of the Army. They replaced conventional military wisdom with the philosophy of the "organization man" and the Madison Avenue corporate image. Seeking an expanded role to match the Air Force's strategic command responsibilities, these technocrats conjured up an international peacekeeping role in which the Army would serve as world fireman in cases of insurgency or limited war in the underdeveloped countries. They saw Vietnam as the proving ground for this new doctrine. Despite its supposed capabilities, the Army introduced more and more troops into Vietnam until its leaders forgot the limited nature of the mission and began thinking in terms of all-out war. "The Army excitedly built up to the proper fighting level by shipping standard infantry divisions into Vietnam." It was not until the Tet offensive in 1968 that "the falseness of the Army's counterinsurgency doctrine lay completely exposed." Immediate steps must be taken to reform the Army, for it has failed the nation's trust.

1847
THE LAST PEACE PLAN. Economist, v. 242, Jan. 29, 1972: 13-15. illus. HG11.E2, v. 242

The U.S. policy in Vietnam is defensible; it stopped Communist expansion and the United States demonstrated that it would keep its treaty agreements. The attack currently anticipated from the North may be intense, but it is likely that when the rains come, the opponents will find themselves deadlocked again. Although the Americans made many mistakes, such as expecting that a big war would overpower the enemy quickly, they did succeed in keeping democracy alive in Vietnam. North Vietnam's refusal to accept President Nixon's peace proposals may make it clearer why a residual U.S. force must be left there. There can never be a politically neutral government in Vietnam and one side or the other must win. Whether this victory will be by force or by ballot is yet to be determined. "The Americans have expended a great deal in Indochina, but they can still preserve their intellectual self-respect."

1848
Liston, Robert A. PRESIDENTIAL WAR POWERS. In Presidential power; how much is too much? New York, McGraw-Hill [1971] p. 9-119. JK516.L55
Bibliography: p. 151-154.

Contents.--Introduction.--pt. 1. Presidential war powers: Presidential war powers under attack. The growth of presidential powers. Congress neglects its war powers. How Presidents went to war. The administration of war powers. Curbing the war powers.

Reports on the debate over Presidential war powers and the limitations on that power.

1849
Lucas, J. W. RADIOACTIVE POLLUTION. Listener, v. 86, Oct. 21, 1971: 533-534. AP2.L4165, v. 86

The movement in the biosphere through the food chain to man of strontium-90, one of two widespread, long-lived fission products, has been extensively studied, but knowledge of this process is less well-developed for the second radioisotope, cesium-137. Cesium washed out of the atmosphere by rain appears to accumulate in the upper soil layers, where, becoming bound to clay, it is neither taken up by plants nor carried away by surface water. Present research in Britain has the goals "first, of establishing how and where the cesium is trapped in the clay mineral compound of the soil; secondly, of assessing the likelihood of its release into the soil solution and thence into plants at some future date; and thirdly, assessing the likelihood of its being influenced by a particular process of fertilising the soil." Determination of the significance to human health of the environment's excess radioactivity, which in Britain has declined from a peak of fifteen percent above natural levels to about three percent, is difficult.

1850
Mayer, Jean. SCIENCE WITHOUT CONSCIENCE. American scholar, v. 41, spring 1972: 265-268. AP2.A4572, v. 41

When may a scientist speak out on public issues as a scientist, and when only as a citizen? Certainly knowledge entails responsibility, and when scientific knowledge is relevant to the solution

of some problem in social policy--whether it concerns health, nutrition, education, national defense, or anything else--the scientist has a right, nay, an obligation, to come forward. Neglect of this responsibility has resulted in the charges of moral neutrality made against the scientific community and turned many young people from science. On the other hand, where scientific expertise is not relevant to the issue in dispute, scientists still may speak out, but only as citizens, not as scientists. Scientists must not allow their enthusiasms to carry them beyond the area of their competence or force them into exaggerations for reasons of political expediency. Scientists in the academic community must learn, too, that an industrial rather than university career does not automatically lead to the sacrifice of all principles as either scientist or citizen. The problem is really the same for all scientists: "If we, as scientists, want to restore John Winthrop's vision of America as 'a City upon the Hill,' we must learn to exercise our consciences as citizens without losing our ethical values as scientists."

1851
THE MILITARY-INDUSTRIAL COMPLEX: USSR/USA. Journal of international affairs, v. 26, no. 1, 1972: xiv, 1-97. JX1.C6, v. 26

Contents.--Editor's foreword.--The Soviet military-industrial complex--does it exist? by Vernon V. Aspaturian.--The merchants of death, then and now, by Robert H. Ferrell.--Strategic elites and politics of superpower, by Roman Kolkowicz.--Soviet strategic effectiveness, by Walter Darnell Jacobs.--The "politico-military-industrial complex" of the U.S.S.R., by William T. Lee.--Anti-military complex: anarchist response to contemporary militarism, by Robert L. Hoffman.

Essays on the military-industrial complex in the Soviet Union. A comparison of the materials presented in these essays with the results of similar studies of the military-industrial complex in the United States suggests the conclusion that "the military-industrial complex . . . knows no one indigenous social habitat," being "symptomatic less of large-scale corporate capitalism than of industrialization and the concentration of power per se." It "is likely to flourish whenever an ambitious foreign policy breeds an alliance of military and economic power or when a divergence of first principles renders traditional diplomacy impotent."

1852
Mitchell, William C. THE ROLE OF STRESS IN THE WAR IN VIETNAM: AN ANALYSIS OF UNITED STATES ACTIONS AND PUBLIC STATEMENTS 1964-1967. In Peace Research Society. Papers, v. 17, 1971: 47-60. (The Philadelphia Conference, 1970)
JX1930.P4A3, 1971

Explores the question of whether stress may bias the judgment of decisionmakers through an investigation of the effect of stress on American military activity in Southeast Asia and on the content of statements made by the Johnson administration. Mitchell concludes that "the findings generally substantiate the hypothesis that under conditions of stress experienced during the war in Vietnam the policy outputs of the Johnson administration were similar to those of an individual undergoing a medium level of stress." He laments that the mere existence of a "crisis," whatever its nature, suffices to increase public support for the President whatever his actions and that the United States during periods of stress maintains too rigid a negotiating posture.

1853
Russett, Bruce M. WHAT PRICE VIGILANCE? THE BURDENS OF NATIONAL DEFENSE. New Haven, London, Yale University Press, 1970. 261 p.
UA23.R89
Includes bibliographical references.

Contents.--Climbing high into the sun?--The spectrum of defense issues.--Defense spending and senatorial behavior.--Alliance and the price of primacy.--The opportunity costs of American defense.--The costs of defense in other countries.--The military in American life.--Appendix: Mathematical models of arms races, by Peter A. Busch.--Notes.--Index.

Analyzes the sources, causes, politics, allocations, social costs, and consequences of the "current high level" of U.S. defense expenditures. Defense costs of other nations are also examined for comparison. Russett concludes that American spending is far in excess of national defense needs, adversely affecting social and political life. "The traditional American polity is not well; military problems constitute a major part of the illness," he says, likening the national malaise to "a crisis in the medical sense, as pneumonia cases once typically exhibited--the malady peaks and slow recovery begins, or the patient dies." Busch's appendix reviews the "interactive determinism " and "probabilistic strategic modeling" quantitative models of arms races.

1854
Senghaas, Dieter. [ARMAMENTS AND MILITARISM] Rüstung und Militarismus. [Frankfurt/Main] Suhrkamp Verlag [1972] 369, [1] p. illus. (Edition Suhrkamp 498) JX1318.S435
Bibliography: p. 369-[370].

Contents.--Preface.--Preliminary considerations on the current problem of militarism.--On the analysis of intimidation policies in international relations.--The configuration of the American armaments complex.--Index of illustrations.--Index of tables.--Bibliography.--Content index.

Outlines the complexity of the armaments problem, analyzes intimidation policies in international relations as they relate to a critique of deterrence, and examines the American military-industrial complex as a case study. Senghaas demonstrates with models the parameters of militarism, in which politics, the armed forces, industry, and science join in accelerating the arms race between East and West and in extending it into the developing states. "In this system of 'organized nonpeace' a policy of peace becomes identical with a policy of arms." The author finds that the American military-industrial complex is a particularly pertinent subject for analysis because American foreign and military policy impinge upon other states more than they affect American policy.

1855
Stennis, John C. THE ILLUSION OF CUT-RATE DEFENSE. Nation's business, v. 60, Apr. 1972: 38-40, 43. illus. HF1.N4, v. 60

Chides critics of American defense spending for hoping "to buy cut-rate survival at some international discount store." Stennis finds little reason to expect that defense costs can be reduced significantly, but he points to sources of expense that need revision and careful monitoring. One source is the lack of adequate weapons testing. Too often a contract is awarded for a weapon that has only been evaluated on paper. In other cases weapons were loaded with excess gadgetry and rendered so complex they are unreliable and expensive to maintain. Stennis expresses further concern for the "rocketing costs of manpower for Pentagon programs," and urges careful scrutiny to avoid waste. Also open to question is military retirement which may begin too early in life, setting aside men of 40 and 45 who should be at the peak of their careers. While supportive of essential defense spending, Stennis summarizes his philosophy: "we should do only what we must do, and we must do that effectively at minimum cost."

1856
TROUBLES SURFACE AT ACADEMY MEETING, by our Washington correspondent. Nature (London) v. 237, May 5, 1972: 6-8. Q1.N2, v. 237

Reports on activities at the 1972 Annual Meeting of the National Academy of Sciences. The propriety of the Academy's conduct of classified research for other Government agencies, especially the Department of Defense, was a major point of controversy. Many members claim that "since they are corporately responsible for the reports produced in the academy's name, the acceptance of classified studies makes them responsible for work which they cannot even see." Resolutions were adopted outlining Academy policy on this matter, and calling on the President and Congress to "evolve foreign policies in which the development and application of science and technology in industry, agriculture and health for the furtherance of human welfare are major elements, and reliance on military force, whether direct or indirect, is deemphasized."

1857
United Nations. Department of Political and Security Affairs. ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL CONSEQUENCES OF THE ARMS RACE AND OF MILITARY EXPENDITURES; REPORT OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL. New York, United Nations, 1972. 51 p. illus. DLC
Sales no.: E.72.IX.16
Document no.: A/8469/Rev. 1

Contents.--Foreword by the Secretary-General.--General Assembly resolution 2831 (XXVI) of 16 December 1971.--Letter of transmittal.--Introduction.--Qualitative aspects of the arms race.--The arms race in terms of resources.--The dynamics of military research and development.--The national consequences of the arms race and military expenditures.--The international consequences of the arms race and military expenditures.--Conclusions.--Annexes: General Assembly resolution 2667 (XXV) of 7 December 1970. Military budget expenditure compared with other statistics: annual averages, 1967-1969. Impact of disarmament on the demand for raw materials.--Bibliography.

Report on the national and international economic and social consequences of arms expenditures. The study shows that between 1961 and 1970 the average total annual expenditures for military purposes increased $50 billion from approximately $150 billion in 1961 to $200 billion in 1970, figured at 1970 prices. Military expenditures are currently two and one-half times greater than expenditures for health, one and one-half times greater than education expenditures, and 30 times greater than the economic aid granted by developed to developing nations. While the percentage of world gross national product devoted to arms expenditures leveled off in the 1960's, the arms race will continue unabated so long as that percentage remains constant against a steadily rising world output. U Thant's foreword stresses the impact of the arms race, pointing to "lost opportunities" in the civil fields and the international consequences for world security, trade and foreign aid.

1858
U.S. Congress. Joint Economic Committee. Subcommittee on Economy in Government. THE ACQUISITION OF WEAPONS SYSTEMS. Hearings, Ninety-first Congress, first session [Ninety-second Congress, first session] Washington, U.S. Govt. Print. Off., 1970-72. v. 1-4 [1219 p.] illus. KF25.E243 1969d
Hearings held Dec. 29, 1969-May 25, 1971.

Probes the policies and practices of U.S. weapons acquisitions and military contracts system and searches for reasons for cost overruns in military

procurement. Chairman Proxmire concludes that "from beginning to end--from the award of contracts and the negotiation of prices to the adjudication of claims and the renegotiation of profits--defense contracting is riddled with inefficiency and mismanagement."

1859
Yelenin, I., and A. Pamor. THE MILITARIZATION OF SOCIAL LIFE IN CHINA. Current digest of the Soviet press, v. 24, Mar. 29, 1972: 1-4.
D839.C87, v. 24
Translated from Krasnaia zvezda, Feb. 25, 1972.
PG3227.B5

The process of militarization is damaging Chinese social and economic development and has serious international ramifications. China cut the economic and social roots of militarism with the 1949 revolution, but by the late 1950's Mao had departed from the principles of Marxism-Leninism and revived militarism which, though absolutely alien to socialism, is today a prime feature of Chinese life. The process of intensification of the army's role in all areas of leadership forced Mao to remove Minister of Defense Lin Piao from power. Militarization is draining the Chinese economy, diverting expenditures from improving the people's standard of living, and creating a war psychosis. Chinese militarism is backed up by a large measure of anti-Sovietism, stockpiling of arms, and extensive military construction along China's borders. "The whipping up among the Chinese people . . . of hatred for their truest friend--the Soviet people--is one of the gravest crimes of the Maoists."

1860
Wolfe, Douglas A. FALLOUT CESIUM-137 IN CLAMS (*RANGIA CUNEATA*) FROM THE NEUSE RIVER ESTUARY, NORTH CAROLINA. Limnology and oceanography, v. 16, Sept. 1971: 797-805. illus.
GC1.L5, v. 16

The concentration of ^{137}Cs from fallout was determined for the soft tissues of *Rangia cuneata* from the Trent-Neuse estuary during 1965-1967. The ^{137}Cs concentration in *Rangia* varied inversely as a logarithmic function of salinity in the estuary, but with a lesser salinity dependence than reported previously for ^{137}Cs concentration factors in *Rangia*. An increasing concentration gradient of ^{137}Cs with increasing salinity in the estuary was therefore hypothesized and was confirmed by analysis of ^{137}Cs in estuarine water of varying salinity. Transport of ^{137}Cs on sediments into estuaries, coupled with ion-exchange displacement of ^{137}Cs from the sediments at elevated salinities, is proposed to explain the concentration gradient of ^{137}Cs in the estuary. (Abstract supplied)

INSTITUTIONS AND MEANS FOR THE MAINTENANCE OF PEACE

INTERNATIONAL LAW

1861
Bowett, Derek. REPRISALS INVOLVING RECOURSE TO ARMED FORCE. American journal of international law, v. 66, Jan. 1972: 1-36. illus.
JX1.A6, v. 66

"This essay [now revised] was commissioned by the American Society of International law [sic] as the working paper of its study Panel on Reprisals and Retaliation in International Law."

Studies armed reprisals in terms of the United Nations Security Council disposition of cases brought before it. Citing incidents from the Arab-Israeli conflict, Bowett discusses the fine distinction between reprisals and self-defense, the complications occasioned by guerrilla activities, the criteria of reasonableness, and institutional devices for fact-finding. He finds that the Security Council has been somewhat unrealistic in refusing to assess the broad environment in which reprisals take place. Despite the strict U.N. interpretation of reprisal law, Israel, the United States and Great Britain have recently come to admit openly that their actions were reprisals and not acts of self-defense. Bowett concludes that in the final analysis "any approach to the problem of restraining resort to reprisals must involve three elements: (1) the serious considerations of guides to moderation by decision-makers . . . so as to contain reprisals within limits of reasonableness; (2) the establishment of appropriate and effective machinery for fact-finding and intermediate review by impartial agencies . . .; (3) the application of constraint, in the form of sanctions, by the competent organs of final review such as the Security Council. . . ." A synopsis of selected reprisal incidents is included.

1862
Deutsche Gesellschaft für Völkerrecht. [RENUNCIATION OF FORCE IN INTERNATIONAL LAW AND THE MAINTENANCE OF PEACE; REPORTS, LECTURES, DISCUSSIONS OF A STUDY CONGRESS OF THE GERMAN SOCIETY FOR INTERNATIONAL LAW] Völkerrechtliches Gewaltverbot und Friedenssicherung; Berichte, Referate, Diskussionen einer Studientagung der Deutschen Gesellschaft für Völkerrecht. Mit Beiträgen von Michael Bothe [et al.] Baden-Baden, Nomos Verlagsgesellschaft [c1971] 352 p. JX1963.D48
At head of title: Wilfried Schaumann.
Bibliography: p. 7-8.

Partial contents.--The renunciation of force in general, by Michael Bothe.--The notion of aggression in international language usage, by Peter Wittig.--The validity of force renunciation in international law in civil war situations, by Dietrich Rauschning.--Maintenance of peace through international law--possibilities and limitations, by Bert V. Röling.--Proscription on the use of force--main problems of validity and use, by Thomas Oppermann.--Renunciation of force and self-defense, by Luzius Wildhaber.--Renunciation of force and the influence of power and means of intervention, by Wilhelm Kewenig.--Does the renunciation of force undergo modifications within the realm of zones of influence? by Michael Schweitzer.--The enemy-state clauses in the UN Charter, by Friedrich August and Freiherr v. d. Heydte.--Basic questions of a European security system, by Eberhard Menzel.

Contributions, each with an English-language summary, to the study of the renunciation of force and the maintenance of peace within the framework of international law against the background of the signing of the German-Soviet Treaty of Aug. 12, 1970.

1863
Dhokalia, R. P. THE CODIFICATION OF PUBLIC INTERNATIONAL LAW. [Manchester] Manchester University Press [Dobbs Ferry, N.Y.] Oceana Publications [1970] 367 p. JX3110.D45C6
Includes bibliographical references.
"Originated as a doctorate thesis submitted in 1964 to Manchester University."

Contents.--Foreword, by B. A. Wortley.--pt. 1. The historical background of the movement towards codification: The progress of mankind towards world organization.--pt. 2. The movement to codify public international law: Private efforts at codification. Official efforts at codification.--pt. 3. Codification sponsored by the United Nations Organization: The International Law Commission and its organization. The functions of the commission and its methodology. The achievements of the commission. Future prospects.--Index.

Traces the evolution of public international law towards a more organized, codified form from earliest times to the present, concentrating on the efforts of the International Law Commission since its establishment by the United Nations in 1947. Dhokalia concludes that "although in the light of the complexities of modern international life it may be impossible to codify simultaneously the entire body of international law, the codification of parts of the law at any one time and in gradual stages will be a process of continuous adaptation to changing circumstances of international life."

1864
Dickmann, Fritz. [THE LAW OF PEACE AND PEACEKEEPING. HISTORICAL STUDIES ON THE PROBLEM OF PEACE] Friedensrecht und Friedenssicherung. Studien zum Friedensproblem in der Geshichte. Göttingen, Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht [1971] 183 p. (Kleine Vandenhoeck-Reihe, 321 S)
JX4508.D5

Partial contents.--War as an ethical problem in antiquity and the Middle Ages.--War as a legal problem in antiquity and the Middle Ages: War in the international law of antiquity. Wars and feuds in the Middle Ages. The first European peace plan.--War and peace in international law in early modern times.--International law and law of the sea in the Age of Absolutism.--Notes.

Historical studies on European international law and politics, particularly collective security arrangements and procedures for conflict resolution, with a view to their relevance to today's peace law and peacekeeping.

1865
Jessup, Philip C. THE PRICE OF INTERNATIONAL JUSTICE. New York, Columbia University Press, 1971. 82 p. JX1990.A2J46
Based on the author's lectures delivered April 23, 27, and May 1, 1970, as the Jacob Blaustein Lectures at Columbia University.
Includes bibliographical references.

Contents.--Preface.--Foreword, by Andrew W. Cordier.--The rocky road to international justice.--Who will pay the price for peace?--The international machinery of justice.

Studies actual and potential contributions of international adjudication to the building of a stable structure of peace. Jessup discusses five important pre-World War II examples of successful settlement as well as several failures. He then examines the settlement record since the war and offers some suggestions for improving the effectiveness of the International Court of Justice and other elements in the "international machinery of justice."

1866
Nanda, Ved P. SELF-DETERMINATION IN INTERNATIONAL LAW. THE TRAGIC TALE OF TWO CITIES--ISLAMABAD (WEST PAKISTAN) AND DACCA (EAST PAKISTAN). American journal of international law, v. 66, Apr. 1972: 321-336. JX1.A6, v. 66
"This is an adapted version of a paper the author presented at a conference sponsored by the American Association for the International Commission of Jurists and the Aspen Institute for Humanistic Studies in Aspen, Colorado, on September 10, 1971."

Contextual analysis of the conflict in East Pakistan with results indicating that "under special circumstances a claim to self-determination, even in a non-colonial setting, may be valid under international law." Nanda examines the West Pakistani action in East Pakistan, the U.N. prescription and practice in self-determination, the economic, cultural, and ethnic differences between East and West Pakistan, and the world community's response to the conflict. He finds that since the situation in East Pakistan could be characterized as colonial a case can perhaps be made for the invocation of self-determination principles. The national differences, the exploitation of Dacca by the Islamabad Government, and the fact of a majority vote for a specific political direction justify even more the application of principles of self-determination.

1867
Rhyne, Charles S. CHINA AND THE LAW: INTERNALLY AND INTERNATIONALLY. Vital speeches of the day, v. 38, Apr. 1, 1972: 361-365.
PN6121.V52, v. 38
"Delivered before the Rotary Club of Washington, Washington Hotel, Washington, D.C., February 23, 1972."

China's degree of respect for international law will indicate that nation's desire to cooperate with the world community. Law within the People's Republic is very different from that of the Western World. It is ideological and political, "an instrument to protect the political and social order rather than a guardian of private rights and interests." However, the legal system of law schools, judges, and courts has probably improved since 1949. On an international scale China has entered into treaties and agreements with 77 nations and apparently has kept all agreements and paid all bills. The World Peace Through Law Center, whose mission is to persuade all nations to accept more law and law institutions and thus to strengthen the world law system, will be encouraging China to develop its internal law system and to participate in international law.

1868
Schwarzenberger, Georg. INTERNATIONAL LAW AND ORDER. New York, Praeger [1971] xxiii, 298 p. (Library of world affairs, no. 69)
JX3275.S314
Includes bibliographical references.

Partial contents.--Fundamentals.--Law, order and legitimation.--International law and order.--International jus cogens.--The forms of sovereignty.--Prohibition of the abuse of rights.--Myths and realities of treaty interpretation.--Peace, war and order.--From the laws of war to the law of armed conflict.--The legality of nuclear weapons.--Terrorists, guerrilleros, mercenaries.--The Eichmann judgment.--Images and models of international law and order.--Appendix I: Letters on international law and order.

Essays concerned with the relations between international law and order. Schwarzenberger concludes the considerations of humanity alone do not prohibit the use of nuclear weapons but that their

radiation and fallout effects can be considered prohibited by the rules of international law forbidding the use of poison and poisoned weapons. He admits the difficulty of contenting oneself with either the legality or illegality of nuclear weapons but reminds the reader that their use in reprisal remains legal. He regards any treaty outlawing the use of nuclear weapons as "grotesquely incongruous to the challenge confronting us" because "nuclear-arms States would continue to prepare themselves for the contingency that the other side would break its solemnly pledged word, and everything would remain as it was." He favors instead a treaty to establish a world atomic energy authority to monopolize nuclear energy and to relieve states of their weapons. Otherwise, it is "unlikely" that total global war can be avoided.

1869
Sprudzs, Adolf. TREATY SOURCES IN LEGAL AND POLITICAL RESEARCH; TOOLS, TECHNIQUES, AND PROBLEMS, THE CONVENTIONAL AND THE NEW. Tucson, University of Arizona Press [1971] 63 p. (The Institute of Government Research. International studies, no. 3.) JX4165.S66
Includes bibliographical references.
"Under the title Information On Recent Treaties --Some Observations on Tools, Techniques and Problems: The Conventional and the New [this study] was presented to the Special Section A of the Eighth International Congress of Comparative Law, held in Pescara, Italy, August 30-September 5, 1970."

Contents.--Foreword, by Clifton E. Wilson.--Introduction.--The practice of states.--The United Nations.--Conventional tools and techniques.--Computer-assisted treaty projects.--Conclusions.

Surveys the current state of information resources on treaties and related international agreements. Sprudzs indicates that in spite of the tremendous expansion in the quantity and importance of treaties, "techniques of access to their texts, to information on their status and subsequent development, have not kept pace with the growing complexity of the situation," which is unlikely to be relieved in the near future. He reviews sources of treaty information in the major Western nations and the United Nations, surveys standard reference and bibliographic works on the subject, and discusses several major computer information retrieval systems. Sprudzs recommends "creation of a computerized all-encompassing world-wide treaty-data bank that would be updated continuously and would dispatch answers by teletype to the inquiring party in a matter of seconds."

INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATION

1870
Adam, Philip A. G., and Ibrahim D. Olelah. PROPOSED: AN OAU-GRIEVANCE COMMISSION. Grass curtain, v. 2, Oct. 1971: 20-22. DT108.7.G68, v. 2

The black Southern Sudanese separatist movement resembles the struggle against the government of Portuguese Africa and is far more justifiable than the secessionist attempts in Katanga and Biafra. The Organization of African Unity (OAU) has a duty to inform Africa about the true nature of dissident and secessionist movements. For this purpose, an OAU Grievance Commission, similar to the U.N. Security Council, should be established where "prevailing (and any future) secessionist problems arising within independent Africa could be peaceably raised, formally heard, rationally analysed and justly settled by and for Africans themselves." Such a step would demonstrate that African leaders are seriously concerned about the rights of all African peoples.

1871
Commission to Study the Organization of Peace. THE UNITED NATIONS: THE NEXT TWENTY-FIVE YEARS; twentieth report. Dobbs Ferry, N.Y., Oceana, 1970. 263 p. illus. JX1908.U6C62

Contents.--pt. 1. Introduction.--pt. 2. The goals and the steps.--Supplementary papers: Development of international institutions under the United Nations system, by Quincy Wright. World order and law, by Carl Q. Christol. Steps to advance the legislative capacity of the General Assembly, by William R. Roalfe. Peaceful settlement of disputes, by Louis B. Sohn. Peacekeeping and peacemaking, by Richard N. Swift. Disarmament, by Marion H. McVitty. Trade, aid, and money: guidelines for American policy in the United Nations, by Ernst B. Haas. U.N. protection of human rights after twenty-five years, by John Carey. Making the United Nations work better: organizational and procedural reform, by Roger Fisher and Peter D. Trooboff. Financing the United Nations, by Howard J. Taubenfeld and Rita F. Taubenfeld.

Elaborates on a proposed U.N. draft declaration to rededicate national efforts to the goals of the United Nations Charter and to give higher priority to the use of U.N. machinery for peacekeeping purposes. A program of more than 100 steps to be undertaken by the United Nations in the next twenty-five years to secure the goals of "peace and justice and freedom to all mankind" is proposed. This program would achieve 11 fundamental goals, among which are the development of world law and methods for peaceful settlement of international disputes, disarmament, economic and social progress, and observance of human rights. McVitty reviews arms control and disarmament negotiations under U.N. and other auspices and asks whether the current international "piecemeal approach" to disarmament does not distract from the primary objective of general and complete disarmament under a system of international peace and security.

1872
Diallo-Tayiré, Alpha A. [THE CRISIS OF INFORMATION AND THE CRISIS OF CONFIDENCE IN THE UNITED NATIONS. RESPONSIBILITIES OF MEMBER STATES AND THE RESPONSIBILITIES OF THE UNITED NATIONS] La crise

de l'information et la crise de confiance des Nation Unies. Responsabilités des états membres et responsabilités des Nations Unies. Fribourg, Éditions universitaires, 1971. 146 p. (Communication sociale, 3) JX1977.D52 1971
Originally presented as the author's thesis, Fribourg.
Bibliography: p. 135-138.

Partial contents.--Mass media and contemporary society.--Mass media and public-opinion information.--The maintenance of peace (e.g., the problem of the Middle East).--To revolutionize the public information program of the United Nations.--To define a world strategy of public information.--General conclusions.

Discusses the role of the mass media in today's society and their effect on public opinion in connection with the United Nations' efforts to "sell" development of the Third World countries to the rest of the international community. Several methods to revolutionize the organization's public information program are proposed. Diallo-Tayiré asserts that the present crisis in the United Nations is a "crisis of information" that has led to a "crisis of confidence." He concludes with five recommendations for strengthening the United Nations, including the admittance of Communist China.

1873
FINAL REPORT OF THE AMERICAN ASSEMBLY ON THE UNITED STATES AND THE UNITED NATIONS, 1972. Congressional record [daily ed.] Ninety-second Congress, second session, v. 118, May 4, 1972: E4717-4720.
J11.R52, v. 118
". . . at Arden House, Harriman, N.Y.," April 13-16, 1972.

Warns that American relations with the U.N. are reaching a critical point and cautions against allowing international institutions to atrophy. The Assembly calls for a renewed American commitment to its U.N. obligations, including paying its bills and standing by its agreements (e.g., the Rhodesian embargo). Peacekeeping and peacemaking functions of the U.N. should be strengthened and the United States should demonstrate a willingness to abide by U.N. arbitration unless national security is most vitally threatened. Further the U.S. should contribute to U.N. efforts to deal with population control and environmental protection. The Assembly also recommends the initiation of a new post, Undersecretary of State for Multilateral Affairs, and other measures to strengthen U.S. participation in international organizations. All these recommendations require leadership and the "President must use the full powers of his office to build the institutions necessary to promote a decent world order, and the Congress must lend its support to the process."

1874
Miller, Lynn H. ORGANIZING MANKIND: AN ANALYSIS OF CONTEMPORARY INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATION. John C. Bollens, consulting editor. Boston, Holbrook Press [1972] 365 p. illus.
JX1954.M494
Bibliography: p. [363]-365.

Contents.--pt. 1. The analytic framework: The analysis of international organization.--pt. 2. The search for security through international organization: The League of Nations and regional security. The United Nations and the new alliances. Peacekeeping in international organization.--pt. 3. The search for human welfare through international organization: Functionalism and economic welfare. The advancement of human rights. Technology and world society.--pt. 4. International organization and the future: The prospects for international organization.

Interprets the process of twentieth-century international organization at the regional and universal levels with a view to providing a framework for study of specific organizations and their activities. Common to both approaches to international organization, universalism and regionalism, are the goals of conflict management and welfare, Miller believes. The three modes of conflict management consist of enforcement action, peaceful settlement, and peacekeeping, while the three aspects of human welfare promoted by international organization are economic development, human rights, and science and technology. Miller concludes that the ultimate achievement of international organization is still unknowable, but that its success or failure will be a major determinant on the course of man's future.

1875
Oraison, André. [CHINESE REPRESENTATION IN THE UNITED NATIONS] La représentation de la Chine aux Nations-Unies. [Saint-Denis] Centre universitaire de la Réunion, U. E. R. Droit et sciences économiques, 1971. 53 l. illus.
JX1977.2.C5072
Includes bibliographical references.

Partial contents.--Introduction,--The conditions of Chinese representation in the United Nations.--The basis of Chinese representation in the United Nations.--The basis of Nationalist Chinese representation in the United Nations.--Conclusion.--Appendixes.

Weighs the question of Chinese representation in the United Nations, focusing on the representation process as stipulated in the Charter and the conditions imposed by Peking regarding its admission to the organization. Oraison concludes that in view of China's size and importance in the international community, the United Nations, which can no longer ignore world realities, must admit Peking and expel Taiwan. Appendixes include a list of the countries that recognize Communist China and a graph of voting trends in the United Nations with respect to the representation question.

1876
Pfeifenberger, Werner. [THE UNITED NATIONS. ITS POLITICAL ORGANS IN SECURITY MATTERS] Die Vereinten Nationen. Ihre politischen Organe in Sicherheitsfragen. Salzburg, München, Pustet [1971] 662 p. (Dike, Bd. 11) (Salzburger Universitätsschriften) JX1977.P47
Bibliography: p. 646-662.

Contents.--Preface.--Introduction.--The preparatory conferences.--Development up to the time of the resolution "uniting for peace" on November 3, 1950.--The resolution "uniting for peace."--Other security questions.--Development since the Congo crisis.--Prospects.--Epilog.--United Nations Charter.--Sources.--Bibliography.

Examination of the political competence and activities of the Security Council, the General Assembly, the International Court of Justice, and the General Secretariat through documentation and interpretative text. Pfeifenberger contends that "however the world organization may come to develop its competencies, it will always remain a mirror of political realities and can preserve peace only to the extent that its members are willing to heed it." The value of the United Nations lies in its usefulness as an institution for negotiation.

1877
Ress, Georg. [SOME INTERNATIONAL LEGAL AND CONSTITUTIONAL CONSEQUENCES OF THE MEMBERSHIP OF THE FRG AND THE GDR IN THE UNITED NATIONS AND ITS SPECIAL ORGANIZATIONS] Einige völkerrechtliche und staatsrechtliche Konsequenzen der Mitgliedshaft von BRD und DDR in den Vereinten Nationen und ihren Sonderorganisationen. Staat, v. 11, no. 1, 1972: 27-49. LL

Examination of the consequences of membership of the two Germanys in the United Nations in terms of these questions: Would the membership of both states result in the international legal recognition of East Germany? What effect would membership have on the legal relationship of the two states? In the event of simultaneous U.N. membership would special relations between the two German states be possible? What effect would U.N. membership have on the legal position of the Allies?

1878
Rovine, Arthur W. THE FIRST FIFTY YEARS; THE SECRETARY-GENERAL IN WORLD POLITICS 1920-1970. Leyden, A. W. Sijthoff, 1970. 498 p. illus. JX1977.8.S4R67
Bibliography: p. 465-468.

Contents.--Introduction.--Sir Eric Drummond; Secretary-General of the League of Nations 1920-1933.--Joseph Avenol; Secretary-General of the League of Nations 1933-1940.--Sean Lester; Secretary-General of the League of Nations 1940-1947.--Trygve Lie; Secretary-General of the United Nations 1946-1953.--Dag Hammarskjold; Secretary-General of the United Nations 1953-1961.--U Thant; Secretary-General of the United Nations 1961- .--The Secretary-General in world politics: resources and functions.--Select bibliography.--Index.

Evaluates the careers and contributions of the six men who held the post of Secretary-General of the League of Nations and the United Nations from 1920 to 1970. On the basis of these six biographical studies, Rovine sets forth "a number of considerations relevant to the resources and political functions of the Secretary-General, how they have developed over the first fifty years, and the likely power position of the Office in the near future." He concludes that "the overall trend appears to be, from the perspective of five decades, in the direction of expanded capabilities for the Office and world organization, and therefore the slow development of a cooperative system of world order."

1879
Silverstein, Harvey B. THE 22ND UNITED NATIONS GENERAL ASSEMBLY: ISSUES AND ALIGNMENTS. Tucson, Institute of Government Research, University of Arizona, 1971. 39 ℓ. (University of Arizona. Institute of Government Research. Research Series no. 9) JX1977.8.G4S56
Bibliography: leaves [38]-39.

Contents.--Introduction.--Insight and overview-patterns in the General Assembly.--Methods and matrices--the 22nd session.--Coherence and conflict towards the end of anti-colonialism.

Investigates voting behavior in the General Assembly "to reach generalizations explaining some of the larger changes in the total international system." Silverstein delineates the major issues that divide the General Assembly and the chief alinement of states in the United Nations on these issues. He asserts that the issue of anticolonialism has diluted the organization's crucial role as a guarantor of world peace and security and that "until the legislative process of the United Nations becomes more responsive to all the dimensions of conflict in the international system, the majority rule in the General Assembly will remain the major instrument of those anti-colonial emerging nations."

1880
[SOVEREIGNTY IN THE 20TH CENTURY] La souveraineté au XXe siècle [par] M. Mario Bettati [et al.] Paris, A. Colin [1971] 287 p. (Collection U. Série Relations et institutions internationales) JX4041.S6
Includes bibliographies.

Contents.--Sovereignty and international relations, by Paul Isoart.--Sovereignty and the succession of states, by M. Mario Bettati.--Sovereignty and the seabed and ocean floor, by René-Jean Dupuy.--Sovereignty and the peaceful resolution of international differences, by Joël Rideau.--Sovereignty and the conflict of law, by Renaud de Bottini.--Foreign investment and international

economic sovereignty, by Jean-Pierre Sortais.--Sovereignty and international cultural, scientific, and technical cooperation, by Jean Touscoz.--Sovereignty and specialized agencies of the United Nations, by Antoine H. Zarb.

Analyzes the problem of sovereignty within the context of efforts aimed at developing an international order that would support the interests of all people and all states.

1881

THE UNITED NATIONS: PROBLEMS AND PROSPECTS. Edwin H. Fedder, editor. St. Louis, Center for International Studies, University of Missouri, 1971. 191 p. illus. (Center for International Studies, University of Missouri, St. Louis. Monograph no. 3) JX1977.U428

Papers presented at a conference sponsored by the Center for International Studies in Mar. 1971. Includes bibliographical references.

Contents.--Preface.--The United Nations: ways to increase its effectiveness, by Anatoly Gromyko.--Prospects for great power relations in the United Nations, by Morris Rothenberg.--A study of national willingness to take world responsibilities, by Robert C. Angell.--Shared memberships in intergovernmental organizations and dyadic war, 1865-1964, by Kjell Skjelsbaek.--Coalition theory and the Security Council: some notions about institutional change, by Robert O. Keohane.--Collective goods and international organization, by Bruce M. Russett and John D. Sullivan.-- The UN Charter: alternate pasts and alternate futures, by Hayward R. Alker, Jr. and William J. Greenberg.--The simulation of alternative budgetary futures for the World Health Organization, by Francis W. Hoole.--Decisions to undertake new activities in assemblies and councils of the UN system, by Chadwick F. Alger.--Conference participants.

Analyzes the processes of the United Nations and related agencies. Most of the authors utilize a quantitative or systems approach in developing their topics, which are frequently addressed to theoretical concepts about international organization and the international system, and not to the United Nations per se. Gromyko maintains that the principal task of the United Nations is the strengthening of international security. Rothenberg surveys the issues facing Soviet-American relations in the United Nations and cites the need for cooperation. Angell describes his efforts to devise quantitative indicators of national willingness to assume international responsibilities. Skjelsbaek finds that on the dyadic level the greatest changes in national membership in intergovernmental organizations occur before a war between two states. Keohane concludes that institutional adaptation in the Security Council is based more on rational-choice models of social learning than on altruistic seeking of the common good. Russett and Sullivan examine the theory of international organization as a process in which states in the world community create and procure collective goods. Alker and Greenberg explore deficiencies in the U.N. Charter, while Alger investigates the processes by which U.N. organs decide to inaugurate new activities.

1882

United States. Congress. House. Committee on Foreign Affairs. Subcommittee on Africa. UNITED NATIONS AND AFRICA. Joint hearing, Ninety-second Congress, second session. Mar. 1, 1972. Washington, U.S. Govt. Print. Off., 1972. 24 p.

DLC

Supt. of Docs. no.: Y4.F76/1:Um34/18.

Statements by U.N. Ambassador George Bush and his senior advisor Ambassador William Schaufele on the U.N. Security Council meeting held in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, January 28-February 4, 1972, and Ambassador Bush's subsequent trip to eight African countries. Bush believes the meeting was "a plus factor" because it focused attention on the problems of Africa, but he makes two warnings about similar future meetings. Since the meeting received harsh publicity as a costly junket in view of the well-known U.N. financial squeeze, Bush suggests that any future meetings be specifically provided for in the budget as other U.N. conferences are. He also cautions against convening the Security Council in an international hot spot where it might be subject to local pressures and unable to deliberate objectively, though such was not the case in Addis Ababa. Bush indicates that the United States "will be very cautious and very wary" of holding more such meetings unless the finances and agenda are carefully prearranged.

1883

Weng, Byron S. J. PEKING'S UN POLICY; CONTINUITY AND CHANGE. Foreword by Jerome A. Cohen. New York, Praeger Publishers [1972] xviii, 337 p. illus. (Praeger special studies in international politics and public affairs)

JX1977.2.C5W44

Bibliography: p. [285]-324.

Contents.--Introduction.--pt. 1. Theoretical analysis: the place of the UN in Peking's foreign policy system: Introduction to part I. Peking's world outlook. Decision-making structure. Aims. Means.--pt. 2. Empirical analysis: Peking's changing attitudes and approaches toward the UN: Introduction to part II. Initial policy, 1949-50. The shift to a defiant offensive, 1950-53. The first stage of a protracted approach, 1954-57. Adventurism, Peking style, 1958-61. A new direction, 1962-65. Impact of the great proletarian cultural revolution, 1966-69. Accelerating the end of the "B.C." era in the UN, 1969-71.--pt. 3. Empirical analysis: continuing characteristics and patterns of Peking's UN policy: Introduction to part III. Legalistic stand on the question of Chinese representation. The UN as an instrument of national policy. Imprint of the thought and psychology of Mao Tse-tung.--Conclusions.--Appendixes.--Notes.--Bibliography.--Index.

Analyzes the policy of the People's Republic of China toward the United Nations through the middle of 1971. Weng's thesis is that China's U.N. policy has always involved "aspects of both continuity and change." Determining that theoretically the United Nations could be a useful instrument for the advancement of Peking's interests, Weng demonstrates that China's U.N. policy, varying with the changing situation within China, the United Nations, and the perceived international environment, has been characterized by "an unyielding legal position, an expedient political view and the imprint of the thought and psychology of Mao Tse-tung."

1884

Wood, Robert S., comp. THE PROCESS OF INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATION. Consulting editor: Inis L. Claude, Jr. New York, Random House [1971] 525 p. illus.
JX1954.W635
Includes bibliographical references.

Partial contents.--The United Nations and the international system, by Oran R. Young.--An evaluation of the United Nations, by Stanley Hoffmann.--Regional organization and the regulation of internal conflict, by Linda B. Miller.--Majority decisions and minority responses in the UN General Assembly, by Catherine Senf Manno.--The effect of the resolutions of the United Nations General Assembly, by Gabriella Rosner Lande.--Veto in the Security Council, by Sydney D. Bailey.--The Secretary-General and the United Nations' function of peaceful settlement, by Mark W. Zacher.--International organizations and international systems, by Wolfram F. Hanrieder.--United Nations peace-keeping: patterns and prospects, by James A. Stegenga.--Arms control and international order, by Lincoln P. Bloomfield.--The United Nations and the role of law, by Leo Gross.--The concept of community and the future of the United Nations, by Richard W. Van Wagenen.

An anthology of articles, for the most part originally published in International Organization, International Conciliation, Journal of Conflict Resolution, and World Politics in the 1960's, dealing with the nature, roles, and functions of international organizations in the modern world.

INTERNATIONAL PEACE AND SECURITY FORCES

1885

Barston, Ronald P. PROBLEMS IN INTERNATIONAL PEACE-KEEPING: THE CASE OF CYPRUS. International relations (London) v. 3, May 1971: 928-940.
JX1.I64, v. 3

Summary of the history and current status of the United Nations Peace-Keeping Force in Cyprus (UNFICYP) including background notes, explanation of the peacekeeping role, relations between UNFICYP and the host government, the level of force maintained, financing and support, efforts toward a long-term solution, and recent developments. Barston notes that UNFICYP has had moderate success in maintaining law and order. He concludes that the "Cyprus case illustrates the limitations of a peacekeeping force . . . which has to operate in a situation of intercommunal conflict."

1886

Bloomfield, Lincoln P., and others. THE POWER TO KEEP PEACE, TODAY AND IN A WORLD WITHOUT WAR. [Berkeley, Calif.] World Without War Council [1971] 250 p. JX1981.P7B59 1971
Includes bibliographical references.
"A study from the Arms Control Project, Center for International Studies, Massachusetts Institute of Technology."
"First published as International Military Forces, The Question of Peacekeeping in an Armed and Disarming World. [(Boston) Little, Brown (1964) 296 p.] Part I has been substantially revised and updated. Stanley Hoffmann and Henry V. Dicks revised their contributions to Part II."
JX1981.P7B59

Contents.--pt.1. International forces today and tomorrow, by Lincoln P. Bloomfield: The meanings of international force. World force and world order. International force in a disarming--but revolutionary--world. The Soviet view of international force. Disarmament and force--some conclusions. Prospects for peacekeeping. A proposal.--pt. 2. A symposium on international forces of the future: Political conditions for a force, by Hans J. Morgenthau. Erewhon or Lilliput? A critical view of the problem, by Stanley Hoffmann. Strategy: a world force in operation, by Thomas C. Schelling. National loyalty, identity, and the international soldier, by Henry V. Dicks.--Appendixes: Controlling conflicts in the 1970's, report of the United Nations Association of the U.S.A. Policy Panel. Report of the President's Commission for the Observance of the 25th Anniversary of the United Nations. United Nations Emergency Force, by Dag Hammarskjöld. United Nations peace force, by U Thant. Comprehensive review of the whole question of peace-keeping operations in all their aspects, report of the U.N. Special Committee on Peace-Keeping Operations. United Nations Charter articles related to peacekeeping. Consent, good office and the future of peacekeeping, by International Peace Academy Committee. Peacekeeping: a survey and an evaluation prepared for Friends Peace Committee (Quakers), by Charles C. Walker.--Index.

Evaluates prospects and presents proposals for international peacekeeping and security forces. Bloomfield offers a proposal for establishing, training, and financing a standby U.N. force. Morgenthau feels that the basic international order of sovereign nation-states shapes and limits the two main requirements of any police force, effectiveness and reliability. Hoffmann believes that the only international forces possible in the current international setting are "ad hoc forces

of interposition" requiring at least one great power's assent for creation. Schelling examines the organization, foreign policy, and techniques of an international force. Dicks explores potential problems of international troops, concluding that an international soldier's personality could "rest on the individual's image of a good self, his identity, and his sense of worth--not so much on primarily national allegiance . . . as on an almost universal code of professional conduct and honor."

1887
Clausen, Christian. [PEACEKEEPING MISSIONS OF THE UNITED NATIONS] Friedenserhaltende Missionen der Vereinten Nationen. Österreichische militärische Zeitschrift, v. 10, Jan./Feb. 1972: 15-23. illus.
U3.034, v. 10

Urges establishment of an independent planning organization within the United Nations (or in a separate body servicing the U.N.) to prepare and facilitate peacekeeping operations. Clausen discusses U.N. peacekeeping missions, their meshing and occasional conflict with peace promotion efforts, and recommendations for improving the efficacy of peacekeeping forces. Experience has shown that U.N. peacekeeping forces usually lack the information and logistics necessary to meet the specific demands of the area to which they are dispatched. Clausen recommends creation of a planning organization to study the infrastructure of likely areas of future deployment, research crisis development to pinpoint the type of situation apt to lead to U.N. intervention, conduct studies on ways to settle or limit a conflict in its various stages, and organize and train military and other components of peacekeeping missions. "As a result of this planning there should be available to the U.N. Secretary General a variety of graduated solution models for each type of crisis situation, permitting in peacekeeping and peace promoting operations a flexible but expeditious 'escalation' of [U.N.] reaction."

1888
Forsythe, David P. UN PEACEKEEPING AND DOMESTIC INSTABILITY. Orbis, v. 15, winter 1972: 1064-1084.
D839.068, v. 15

Surveys "current attitudes toward domestic instability and attempt[s] to ascertain whether new attitudinal patterns are forming regarding the utility of the United Nations in mitigating the dangers from 'local' conflicts." The focus of the survey concerns U.N. peacekeeping. Forsythe regrets that governmental attitudes toward desired behavior in situations of domestic violence are confusing and ambiguous and that "political needs of the moment triumph over the more basic need to establish generally accepted norms of conduct for mutual benefit." He reports on the superpowers' attitudes, emphasizing Soviet-American bargaining positions in the Special Committee on Peacekeeping Operations (Committee of 33), and those of Third World governments and the Secretary General. The author concludes that "there is no movement at present for a radical restructuring of patterns of authority in world politics to enable the United Nations to perform its function of crisis management with more certainty."

1889
Harbottle, Michael N. THE BLUE BERETS. [Harrisburg, Pa.] Stackpole Books [1972, c1971] 157 p. illus.
JX1981.P7H27 1972
Bibliography: p. [129]-145.

Contents.--Introduction--the rules of the game. --Egypt 1956-1967.--Congo 1960-1964.--Cyprus 1964-1971.--West Irian 1962-1963.--Military observer missions 1946-1971.--Korea 1950-1953.--Conclusions. --Bibliography.--Appendix.--Index.

Survey of major U.N. peacekeeping operations that "does no more than briefly describe the causes and effects of each conflict, the conduct of the operations themselves and adds a few basic statistics." Brigadier Harbottle recommends improvements in the U.N. peacekeeping machinery, including a set of procedures and principles to guide the Security Council, an "early warning" advisory group, and a contingency planning staff. He hopes that the work will "be regarded through its comprehensive bibliography as a book of reference."

1890
Higgins, Rosalyn. UNITED NATIONS PEACEKEEPING, 1946-1967: DOCUMENTS AND COMMENTARY. London, New York [etc.] issued under the auspices of the Royal Institute of International Affairs by Oxford U. P., 1969-1970. 2 v. illus.
JX1981.P7H5
Includes bibliographies.
"The third, and final, volume will deal with peacekeeping in the Balkans, Cyprus, and the Congo."

Contents.--v. 1. The Middle East: The United Nations Truce Supervision Organization (UNTSO), 1949- . The United Nations Emergency Force (UNEF), 1956-67. The United Nations Observer Group in Lebanon (UNOGIL), 1958. The United Nations Yemen Observation Mission (UNYOM), 1963-4. Index.--v. 2. Asia: United Nations observers in Indonesia, 1947-50. United Nations observers and Security Force (UNSF) in West Irian, 1962-3. United Nations enforcement action in Korea, 1950-3. United Nations Military Observer Group in India and Pakistan (UNMOGIP), 1949- . United Nations India-Pakistan Observation Mission (UNIPOM), 1965-6. Index.

Surveys U.N. peacekeeping by paramilitary and military forces and by military observer missions. For each peacekeeping group, Higgins details the events leading up to the conflict situation; the establishment of the group; its functions, mandate, and constitutional basis, political, administrative, and military control of its operations; its composition and size; its relations with contributing, host, and other involved states; its

financing; and the execution and implementation of its mission. Source materials are limited to official U.N. documents and records.

1891
Higgins, Rosalyn, and Michael N. Harbottle. UNITED NATIONS PEACEKEEPING: PAST LESSONS AND FUTURE PROSPECTS; ANNUAL MEMORIAL LECTURE, 25TH NOVEMBER 1971. London, David Davies Memorial Institute of International Studies [1972] 23 p. (David Davies Memorial Institute of International Studies. Annual memoral lectures)
JX1981.P7H52

Reviews the achievements and problems of U.N. peacekeeping operations and suggests reforms. Dr. Higgins discusses the difficulties of securing political and financial support for peacekeeping missions and expresses concern about the possible impact of the Chinese Communists and the new Secretary-General on future efforts. She feels that Soviet-American participation in a future U.N. Middle East force could be beneficial because "their close proximity might perhaps ensure a degree of responsibility by Governments which they were unwilling or unable to exercise over their client states." Brigadier Harbottle sees a need for regularizing hitherto ad hoc peacekeeping forces and proposes administrative and organizational reforms and training in the special requirements of peacekeeping.

1892
Lefever, Ernest W. PEACEKEEPING BY OUTSIDERS: THE U.N. CONGO EXPEDITIONARY FORCE. In Higham, Robin, comp. Civil wars in the twentieth century. Lexington, University Press of Kentucky, 1972: 133-150. illus. D431.H54
Bibliography: p. 247-248.

Reviews the history of the 1960-1964 Congo crisis and the impact of U.N. peacekeeping efforts. Lefever asserts this internal conflict was internationalized and probably prolonged by U.N. intervention. He concludes that the U.N. role was limited at best, effectively dealing with only one challenge--Katanga's secession--of the four confronting the central Congolese government. Declaring the U.N. Congo operation to be "a warning rather than an example" of the proper use of international military forces, Lefever suggests that British aid in suppressing the 1964 Tanganyikan Army mutiny demonstrated "that the timely assistance of a friendly power is a more effective way of dealing with internal strife than the intervention of a large and intrusive multistate military force under the U.N. flag."

1893
Williams, Walter L. INTERGOVERNMENTAL MILITARY FORCES AND WORLD PUBLIC ORDER. Leiden, A.W. Sijthoff; Dobbs Ferry N.Y., Oceana Publications, 1971. 703 p. UA15.W55
Bibliography: p. [643]-703.

Describes humanity's painful, gradual, step-by-step progress toward world government and examines the organization and command of the intergovernmental military forces needed to support that system. Williams notes that today's world lacks a strong universal security force and potent regional security organizations. "The continued reliance on self-help and the avoidance of submitting disputes to a more inclusive community, whether regional or global, is the most dangerous feature in world society today."

OTHER MEANS

1894
Bowett, D. W. THE SEARCH FOR PEACE. London, Routledge and K. Paul, 1972. 236 p.
JX1952.B724

Partial contents.--pt. 1. The sovereign state and resort to war.--pt. 2. The peaceful settlement of disputes.--pt. 3. Peace-keeping by the United Nations.--pt. 4. The great powers and "brinkmanship".--pt. 5. The era of technology, aid, development and equity.--pt. 6. Arms control and disarmament: Extracts from "The Effects of the Possible Use of Nuclear Weapons and the Security and Economic Implications for States of the Acquisition and Further Development of these Weapons," Report by the Secretary-General of the UN, 1968. Extract from The Economic and Social Consequences of Disarmament, Report of the Secretary-General of the UN, 1962. Extract from "Soviet Efforts for Disarmament," by O. Grinyov, December 1967. Chinese Statement on Arms Control, 22 November 1964. Treaty banning Nuclear-weapon Tests in the Atmosphere, in Outer Space and Under Water, signed in Moscow, 5 August 1963. Treaty on the Non-proliferation of Nuclear Weapons, 12 June 1968.--pt. 7. The future structure of international society.

Readings on various aspects of the problem of achieving and maintaining international peace. Official sources and the contributions of scholars are represented. Each part concludes with study questions and suggestions for further reading.

1895
Conference on Peaceful Change in Modern Society, Stanford University, 1969. PEACEFUL CHANGE IN MODERN SOCIETY. Edited with an introd. by E. Berkeley Tompkins. Stanford, Calif., Hoover Institution Press, Stanford University, 1971. 158 p. (Hoover Institution publications 101)
JX1963.C693 1969
Includes bibliographical references.

Contents.--Introduction, by E. Berkeley Tompkins.--Past failures and successes in peacemaking with suggestions for the future, by Anthony Eden, Earl of Avon.--World peace and revolution in the Third World, by Robert A. Scalapino.--The drive to power, by Bertrand de Jouvenel.--Man's natural desire for peace, by F. Hilary Conroy.--Power and peace, by G. Warren Nutter.--Technology and peace: the role of biological research, by Joshua Lederberg.--Peace: present threats and paths to future

solutions, by Bernt Ingvaldsen.--International law and organization: their influence for peace, by Sir Percy Claude Spender.--Ideologies of violence and social change, by Sidney Hook.--A climate for change, by Charles J. Hitch.--Moral imperatives for peace in the remainder of this century, by William G. Pollard.--Notes.

A collection of essays from the Conference on Peaceful Change in Modern Society sponsored by the Hoover Institution on War, Revolution and Peace in November 1969 and focusing on the problems of peaceful change in the modern world and some suggestions for the future. Ingvaldsen believes that the gradual economic convergence of the capitalist and Communist systems will eventually lead to lessened East-West tensions. Spender stresses the importance of the role that international law and organization can play in the process of peaceful change.

1896
Consultation on Christian Concern for Peace, Baden, 1970. PEACE--THE DESPERATE IMPERATIVE; BADEN, AUSTRIA, APRIL 3-9, 1970. [Geneva] Committee on Society, Development and Peace [1970] 83 p.
JX1963.C745 1970

Sponsored by the Committee on Society, Development and Peace.
"The official report to the World Council of Churches and the Pontifical Commission Justice and Peace."

Contents.--Foreword.--Report of the conference.--Political conflict and dynamics of peace.--Christian responsibility for world peace.--Education for peace.--Human rights and world peace.--Appendices.

Indicates the areas which the Church must study further if it is to act as a peacemaker in the war-threatened world. Issues discussed included the Christian attitude on the responsible use of power, the rights of conscientious objectors, peace education, the morality of nuclear deterrence, chemical and biological weapons, disarmament, international organizations for peace, the rights of oppressed peoples, and human rights and their defense. The Committee on Society, Development and Peace finds that the inability of the Churches to resolve the dilemma of the morality of the possession and development of nuclear weapons in a mutual deterrence world system as distinguished from the actual use of strategic nuclear weapons has greatly damaged their credibility and moral authority.

1897
Eckhardt, William. A BRIEF REVIEW OF THE RADICAL CRITIQUE OF PEACE RESEARCH. Journal of contemporary revolutions, v. 3, summer 1971: 74-83.
N&CPR

The radical critique of peace research takes five distinct forms in critiques of utopian, strategic, federalist, pacifist and positivist thinking and, in general, questions whether peace research has contributed more to changing the war system to a peace system than to perpetuating the status quo. Strongest criticism comes from the critics of positivist thinking who insist that peace science and indeed the social sciences are neither value-free, as the positivists claim, nor oriented to the basic social change necessary to a peace system. Positivism contains a conservative bias supporting the status quo. Since positivist thinking prevails in the Soviet and Western worlds, peace research is nothing more than a part of the military-industrial complex in both the Soviet and Western worlds. The radical critics believe the five forms of classical thought are limited in regard to peace research and want to recast thinking "into a radical philosophy of human nature and humanistic philosophy of science." On this basis they criticize peace research as "an effort to promote the actualizing of radical definitions of human values." The biggest users of peace research results should be the academic community rather than the decisionmakers who use the results to justify their national interests, or the radical activists who are way ahead of the peace researchers anyhow.

1898
Freymond, Jacques. INTERNATIONAL RED CROSS AND PEACE. International review of the Red Cross, no. 131, Feb. 1972: 65-72.
HV560.I56, 1972

"Address delivered at the Annual Dinner of the American-Swiss Association, New York, on 10 November 1971."

There is a need today to reassess the Red Cross' policy and position in the modern world. Its mission is to aid disaster-stricken victims; this assistance must be extended to all war victims, even those who were previously terrorists or snipers, for the extension of charity to enemy victims is an essential aspect of humanitarianism. Cruel and repressive treatment denies the dignity of man and works against genuine peace. "An effective humanitarian policy is the main counterweight to total war." Red Cross people must rethink their present assumptions about division of labor, neutrality, impartiality, and independence and find new ways to apply the Geneva Conventions to a period of revolution.

1899
Gelpke, Rhenus. [WREATH-LAYING AT THE GRAVE OF THE KNOWN SOLDIER. TRANSITION TO RITUAL WARFARE] Kranzniederlegung am Grabe des bekannten Soldaten. Übergang zur rituellen Kriegführung. Journal of peace research, no. 1, 1972: 69-75.
AS9.J6, 1972

Recommends that states bent on war with one another that have exhausted all other remedies submit to a U.N.-operated computer wargame. Should the decision be less than unanimous, a strictly controlled token battle may ensue to satisfy the human need for prestige-identification with the

surviving party. To satisfy man's sociopsychic needs, the laying of a wreath on the grave of the "known soldier" might be included in the rituals of this kind of war. "The transition [from real] to ritual warfare is still not the sought-after ideal for a structure of peace, but one of several prerequisites toward that end."

1900

International Institute for Peace and Conflict Research. REPORT OF ACTIVITIES 1970/71 [by] Stockholm International Peace Research Institute. Uppsala, Almqvist & Wiksells, 1971. 23 p.
DLC

Annual report on the Institute's activities in research and publishing, together with a financial statement and administrative information. Included are the Institute's statement of purpose, its statutes, a staff directory, and a list of publications. In the report period the Institute's major achievements were publication of the second issue of its yearbook, SIPRI Yearbook of World Armaments and Disarmament 1969/70, and continuation of major studies of chemical and biological weapons and the arms trade with the Third World. It is the policy of the Institute to "study problems in a pragmatic way," and to "select questions which are important to decision-makers in current international politics." So far, the Institute has "concentrated mostly on problems of disarmament and arms regulation."

1901

International Peace Research Association. PROCEEDINGS OF THE INTERNATIONAL PEACE RESEARCH ASSOCIATION, THIRD GENERAL CONFERENCE. (Karlovy Vary, September 20-23, 1969). Assen, Van Gorcum, 1970-3 v. illus. (Its IRPA studies in peace research, no. 4) JX1963.I674
Includes bibliographical references.
(Volume 3 was not available for examination.)

Contents.--v. 1. Philosophy of peace research: Introduction, by Bert V. A. Röling. The philosophy of peace research, by Kenneth E. Boulding. Peace research as a technology for pacification, by Herman Schmid. Confrontation versus debate, by Johan Galtung. Peace research: pacification or revolution? by Lars Dencik. The political functions of social research--with special reference to peace and conflict research, by Ole Jess Olsen and Ib Martin Jarvad. Feudal systems, structural violence and the structural theory of revolutions, by Johan Galtung. Subjectivity in peace research, by Bert V. A. Röling. The nature and possible philosophies of peace research, by Charles Boasson. Science and reason in peace research, by Godfried van Benthem van den Bergh. The small states and research into aspects of war and peace, by Marion Mushkat. Towards a world peace academy. A proposal, by Johan Galtung.--v. 2. The international system: Rank and interaction: a general theory with some applications to the international system, by Nils Petter Gleditsch. Some behavioral characteristics in the United Nations as a function of rank, by Kurt Jacobsen. United Nations voting pattern, by Hanna Newcombe, Michael Ross, and Alan G. Newcombe. Development of the systems of international organisations: a diachronic study, by Kjell Skjelsbaek. The outcome of arms races: a policy problem and a research approach, by J. David Singer. "Sticks and carrots": theoretical assumption underlying current work on civilian defense strategies, by Andrew Mack. The relevance of international law to civilian defence, by Olaf Hasselager. Conditions affecting the effectiveness of small state mediative functions, by Daniel Frei. Economic impact of the Rhodesia sanctions, by Jørgen Rasmussen. Peace through conflict? On the future of the nation-state, by Per Olav Reinton. The situational model in the analysis of international relations, by B. Landheer.--v. 3. Case studies, simulations and theories of conflict: Power in a post-colonial setting: the why and whither of religious confrontation in Ulster, by Anders Boserup. A test of cognitive balance theory in a field situation: A factoranalytic study of perceptions in the Cyprus conflict, by Malvern Lumsden. A closed and open model, analysis of perception in crisis, by Gordon Hilton. Individual versus collective conflict behaviour. A study of industrial conflict in Sweden, by Peter Enström. Productivity and conflict, by A. N. Oppenheim and J. C. R. Bayley. Ethnic conflict and class consciousness: a case study from Belgium, by Robin Jerkins. Dialectics of prestige and human coexistence, by Georges R. Tamarin. The child's orientation to international conflict and the United Nations: a review of the literature and an analysis of a Canadian sample, by Elia T. Zurick. Attitudes-expectation: conflict in Japanese attitudes toward nuclear arms, by Yasumasa Tanaka. Strategic targets for conflict prevention, by Niels Lindberg. Small-power vs. big-power perspective on foreign policy: a comparative analysis of behaviour in Norwegian and US simulation experiments, by Mari Holmboe Ruge. A report on explorative experiments with simulation models of international relations and on the effects of participation, by Peter Boskma and Hylke Tromp.

Essays focusing on the philosophic confrontation between traditional and revolutionary peace researchers. Schmid represents the revolutionary peace researchers who regard any attempt to manage conflict as manipulation of the situation, while Oppenheim, Bayley and Galtung argue that not all conflicts are alike and that many can be resolved by evolutionary means while only few are better resolved by violence. Galtung presents a step-by-step plan for the creation of a world peace academy to bridge "the tremendous gap found today between peace research and peace action by training wellchosen people in the implementation of, among other things, peace research findings." Singer suggests a research strategy involving study of past major power arms races to ascertain whether the current arms race is likely to be ended by war, fatigue, or disarmament, either negotiated or unilateral.

1902
Kabel, Rainer. [MOBILIZATION FOR PEACE. PEACE RESEARCH AND PEACE PRACTICE] Mobilmachung zum Frieden. Friedensforschung und Friedenspraxis. Tübingen, Katzmann, 1971. 128 p. (Jugend, Staat, Gesellschaft, Bd. 7)
JX1953.K12
Bibliography: p. 123-125.

Contents.--A new science--peace research.--War and peace in the outgoing 20th century.--Everyone talks of peace--but no one makes it.

Introduction to peace research and a discussion of the part the individual can play in effecting a policy of peace. Kabel looks at the prospects for avoiding world war III, the use and price of deterrence, and measures for peace including arms control, psychological disarmament, international law, world government, integration, and nonviolent action. He sees the individual's contribution as lying primarily in political involvement, for "peace is a matter of politics."

1903
Larson, Arthur. INTERNATIONAL ORDER AND NATIONAL SOVEREIGNTY--THEY CAN CO-EXIST. Catholic University law review, v. 21, fall 1971: 80-93.
LL
"This article is based on The Pope John XXIII Lecture delivered by Professor Larson at The Catholic University Law School in the Spring of 1971."

Extends a plan of world order compatible with the basic needs of both national sovereignty and international order. Larson's proposals involve trimming away the extreme positions of the two opposing concepts to locate an acceptable middle ground. The first trimming relies on the assumption that sovereignty is under, not beyond, the law. The current state of relations and disputes is the unprecedented "Age of Deadlock," a state of perpetual stalemate in international relations which is a function of the nuclear deadlock by which war is excluded as a means of settlement. Thus, in reality, there is no sovereignty that can handle problems that should have an international settlement. Larson explains that trimming at the other end will be possible when it is conceded that the degree of internationalization needed is not as high as once thought and that a sufficient degree of international order can be achieved without security-threatening concessions.

1904
Mallone, Ronald. WORKING TO END WAR. Reconciliation quarterly, Mar. 1972: 31-35.
JX1907.I457A3, 1972

Explains that Britain's Fellowship Party, formed in 1955 by Christian pacifists, seeks to spread pacifism through politics and education so as ultimately "to change our civilisation into a nonviolent one which will remove the causes of war." Although they have worked on Chinese recognition and other smaller issues related to peace, Fellowship Party members refuse to consider winning the lesser of two evils to be a victory and promote world-wide pacifism through their own political means. Mallone lists the Party's short-range goals that he hopes will contribute to the creation of a new peaceful society. These include: ending unemployment, dissolving NATO, reconciling the United States, Soviet Union, and China, establishing free health service, and uniting the world's people in equal rights and cooperation. The Party's primary mission is to oppose war and demand disarmament.

1905
Pfeifenberger, Werner. [ETHICS AND INTERNATIONAL POLITICS] Ethik und internationale Politik. Neue Ordnung, v. 26, Jan. 1972: 1-10.
AP30.N478, v. 26

Favors improvement in transnational communication processes as the most appropriate manner of fostering an international consensus on which to base an ethical order. Bodies capable of promoting this consensus are the Roman Catholic Church, the Red Cross, and certain U.N. agencies. Pfeifenberger explains that there are three reasons for the stepmother-like treatment accorded to ethics in interstate decisionmaking: the concern of foreign policy with one's own increase in power at the expense of one's neighbor, the unethical manner in which political leaders often come to power, and the absence of an advanced and accepted system of international law. States will renounce power politics and aspects of their sovereignty only when they are convinced that the order of law to which they subordinate their collective security is a just order.

1906
THE ROME CONFERENCE, 1970. In Peace Research Society. Papers, v. 16, 1971. 107 p. illus.
JX1930.P4A3, v. 16

Contents.--Unprofitable empire; Britain in India, 1800-1967, a critique of the Hobson-Lenin thesis on imperialism, by Kenneth E. Boulding and Tapan Mukerjee.--Testing field theory on the 1963 behavior space of nations, by Richard Van Atta and R. J. Rummel.--The state as a focus of peace research, by Ekkehart Krippendorff.--Investigating the effects of threats, by Roderick Ogley.--Anarchism, peace and control: some ideas for future experiment, by Paul Smoker.

Studies dealing with various aspects of peace research and international relations. Boulding and Mukerjee conclude that Britain did not suffer any economic ill effects from the decolonization of India. Krippendorff questions the political relevance of peace research, while suggesting a direction that he thinks may yield answers. Smoker considers the future of peace research and notes that "planetary peace is hard to define, difficult to imagine, and given the limited range of indicators available, poses no serious threat to the livelihood of professional peace researchers."

ARMS CONTROL: GENERAL DISCUSSION

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

1907
Bloch, Charles. GREAT BRITAIN, GERMAN REARMAMENT, AND THE NAVAL AGREEMENT OF 1935. In Gatzke, Hans W., comp. European diplomacy between two wars, 1919-1939. Chicago, Quadrangle Books, 1972: 125-151. D727.G38 1972

Develops the theme that the Naval Agreement of 1935 was a milestone on the road to the disaster of 1939. British acquiescence to German demands was prompted by a desire for entente with Berlin, a need to disengage from the North Sea to meet commitments elsewhere, and a faint distrust of Paris. According to Bloch, the British felt bilateral negotiations with the Germans indispensable in view of the breakdown of general disarmament efforts. Through bluff and persistence Germany profited from the agreement, achieving all its major objectives without making any real concessions. "By permitting [Germany] nearly to quadruple her fleet, Great Britain had officially voided the military clauses of Versailles, something Germany had hoped to do for sixteen years."

1908
Braisted, William R. THE UNITED STATES NAVY IN THE PACIFIC, 1909-1922. Austin, University of Texas Press [1971] 741 p. illus.
E182.B74
Bibliography: p. [689]-711.

Partial contents.--From Paris to Washington: Adjusting to peace. Struggle for a Pacific policy, 1920. The revolt against navalism. The mid-Pacific route, 1919-1921. Pacific island strategy diplomacy. A Japanese menace? Britain, the Anglo-Japanese alliance, and the Pacific conference. --The Washington conference: Estimating Britain and Japan. Preparing a program. Toward a three-power naval accord. The Four-Power pact. The French crisis. The nonfortification squall. China during the conference and after. Toward a treaty navy.--Bibliography.--Index.

History of U.S. strategic naval policy in the Pacific Ocean area from the Taft administration to the aftermath of the 1921 Washington Conference on the Limitation of Armaments. While naval policy had previously focused on East Asia, "the American naval effort after 1909 was increasingly directed to the ocean as a whole, the building of naval strength in the eastern Pacific having been accepted by American naval men as a necessary prerequisite to the expansion of American naval power farther west" to ensure against a Japanese challenge to U.S. national interests. Braisted believes that the Washington naval limitation agreements, "in so far as they restricted the Navy to the eastern Pacific, were a triumph for traditionally conservative American attitudes toward East Asia over the more ambitious aspirations of American naval men."

1909
Compton, James V., comp. AMERICA AND THE ORIGINS OF THE COLD WAR. Boston, Houghton Mifflin Co. [1972] 192 p. (New perspectives in history)
E744.C65

Contents.--pt. 1. The orthodox framework: Origins of the cold war, by Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr. American foreign policy since 1945, by John Spanier. The cold war as history, by Louis Halle. --pt. 2. Dissenting perspectives on the crucial issues: Atomic diplomacy, by Gar Alperovitz. Free world colossus, by David Horowitz. From Yalta to disarmament, by Joseph P. Morray. The abortive American loan to Russia, by Thomas G. Paterson. The politics of war, by Gabriel Kolko. The tragedy of American diplomacy, by William A. Williams. The cold war and its origins, by Denna F. Fleming. Architects of illusion, by Lloyd C. Gardner.--pt. 3. The cold war in perspective: The beginnings of the cold war, by M. Herz. Origins of the post-war crisis; discussion, by Paul Seabury, Louis Halle, Jean Laloy, Melvin Croan, E. C. May, and Hugh Seton-Watson. Revisionism and the interpretation of cold war origins, by Charles S. Maier. War: cold, by Walter LaFeber. Suggestions for further reading.

Orthodox and revisionist interpretations of the origins of the cold war, with particular emphasis on the period from 1943 to 1947. Part 1 contains three general studies developing the orthodox view, while part 2 deals with the revisionist criticism of more specific aspects of American policy like the atomic bomb, economic relations, and Eastern Europe. Part 3 summarizes certain questions and presents a panel discussion that explores in general the historical debate transcending the cold war itself.

1910
Duff, Peggy. CND: 1958-65. In her Left, left, left: a personal account of six protest campaigns, 1945-65. London, Allison & Busby, 1971: [113]-257. illus. JX1908.G8C35

Contents.--The CND symbol.--The beginning.--The campaigners.--The Aldermaston marchers.--The other

marches.--The committees.--The Direct Action Committee and the Committee of 100.--The Labour Party.--The policy.--The CND style: the umbrella.--CND international.--CND and Greece.

Recounts the origins, growth, activities, organization, policies, and decline of the British Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament (CND) from the vantage point of the author's experiences as the group's organizing secretary and general secretary. Duff notes that the CND's campaigns for a "unilateralist" British nuclear disarmament policy through the Labour Party, civil disobedience, and independent parliamentary candidates were unsuccessful, and that the movement was further blunted by the 1962 Cuban missile crisis and the 1963 Limited Nuclear Test Ban Treaty. She quit the CND in 1967 because "the continuing determination of most of the campaign to stick to the issue of nuclear arms and only nuclear arms [was] entirely illogical" in view of the more serious Vietnam war and hegemonistic superpower policies, of which the problem of "the Bomb" was only symptomatic.

1911
Hefley, J. Theodore. WAR OUTLAWED: THE CHRISTIAN CENTURY AND THE KELLOGG PEACE PACT. Journalism quarterly, v. 48, spring 1971: 26-32.
PN4700.J7, v. 48

A leader in the antiwar movement of the 1920's and 1930's, Charles Clayton Morrison's liberal Protestant magazine The Christian Century took up the cause of the outlawry of war, fervently championing the Kellogg-Briand Pact of 1928. Morrison's idea was to make war criminally illegal by the will of the people. The Christian Century maintained that "outlawry of war cannot be attained through disarmament, but disarmament will be the necessary result of the outlawry of war." In essence, outlawry would be self-enforcing and dependent on the honor of the pledging nations, for collectively applied sanctions would in effect constitute war for the prevention of war. The Century eventually had to deal with the implied reservation of the war in self-defense, but its explanation was unconvincing and disenchantment set in. By 1933 Morrison's only argument on behalf of the Kellogg-Briand Pact was that war had become unrespectable. Outlawry was an attempt to escape from the hard realities of international life and "for The Christian Century it was a lengthy and sad detour around the more fundamental subjects of the causes of war and individual responsibility in the event of war."

1912
Heurlin, Bertel, comp. [DISARMAMENT] Nedrustning. [Kildesamling]. Udg. i samarb. med Unesco-Skoleprojekt. København, Gyldendal, 1970. 183 p. (Unesco orienteringsserie)
JX1974.H46
Danish, English or German.
Bibliography: p. 180-182.

Presents 68 items of source material pertaining to arms control and disarmament chronologically arranged from 1919 to 1970. The 42 English-language selections (nos. 1-14, 16-21, 23-27, 32, 42, 44, 49, 52-60, and 65-68) include U.S. and Soviet statements on the 1946 Baruch Plan, nuclear weapons and disarmament positions of the 1940's and 1950's, French and Chinese statements, excerpts of statements and proceedings dealing with the 1968 Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty, and statistical tables and charts. The four German-language selections (nos. 45-48) of the mid-1960's discuss proliferation.

1913
PEACE MOVEMENTS IN AMERICA. American studies, v. 13, spring 1972: 210 p.
E169.1.A486, v. 13
Entire issue devoted to American peace movements.

Contents.--Introduction, by Charles Chatfield.--Ernest Howard Crosby: a forgotten Tolstoyan antimilitarist and anti-imperialist, by Perry E. Gianakos.--An interpretation of the American peace movement, 1898-1914, by David S. Patterson.--Democracy in wartime: antimilitarism in England and the United States, 1914-1918, by Blanche W. Cook.--Alternative strategies in the American peace movement in the 1920's, by Charles Debenedetti.--Alternative antiwar strategies of the thirties, by Charles Chatfield.--A. J. Muste and ways to peace, by Jo Ann Robinson.--The United World Federalists: liberals for law and order, by Jon A. Yoder.--Student organizations and the antiwar movement in America, 1900-1960, by Patti McGill Peterson.--Kenneth Boulding and the peace research movement, by Cynthia Kerman.--Peace education at the crossroads, by A. Michael Washburn.--Was the cold war necessary? The revisionist challenge to consensus history, by Norman Wilensky.--Internationalism as a current in the peace movement: a symposium, by Sondra Herman, Robert Divine, Walter LaFeber, Theodore Wilson, Richard McKinzie, and Manfred Jonas.

Surveys twentieth-century antiwar movements in the United States, dealing with the multiple influences exercised by dissent and consensus, nationalism and internationalism. The essays explain and interpret "the diverse contexts in which men and women have sought to abolish war or mitigate its effects."

1914
U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency. ARMS CONTROL ACHIEVEMENTS 1959-1972. 2d ed. Washington [For sale by the Supt. of Docs., U.S. Govt. Print. Off., 1972] 18 p. (Its Publication 63)
DLC

Brief summaries of arms control agreements signed by the United States since 1959. (Complete texts of the agreements are reprinted in Arms Control and Disarmament Agreements, 1959-1972, cited

elsewhere in this issue.) The introduction notes the continuing progress being made in negotiation of arms control agreements through a gradual, step-by-step process.

GENERAL ANALYSES

1915
Arkadev, N. DISARMAMENT COMMITTEE: TEN YEARS. New times, no. 12, Mar. 1972: 4-5.
D839.N483, 1972

The tenth anniversary of the United Nations Disarmament Committee is an appropriate time to evaluate its progress and future prospects. While the Soviet Union and its allies have vigorously pursued the conclusion of a general and complete disarmament treaty, "the Committee has never really got off the ground," because the United States and its imperialist partners refuse to give up their war machine. General and complete disarmament is an increasingly feasible goal because the imperialists now realize it is senseless to continue the arms race. The popular masses are mobilizing to support disarmament; most countries have officially supported the idea of disarmament; and several treaties limiting the arms race have been concluded in the past decade. The Soviet Union continues to support the Committee's work but also proposes a conference of the five nuclear powers and a world disarmament conference to supplement the Committee's efforts.

1916
Brown, John M. AN APPLICATION OF RICHARDSON'S EQUATIONS TO U.S. AND U.S.S.R. MILITARY OUTLAYS, 1948-1968. Ann Arbor, University Microfilms, 1972. 145 p. Micro (Order no. 72-9381)
Abstract in Dissertation Abstracts, v. 32, Mar. 1972: 4789A. Z5055.U5A53, v. 32
Dissertation (Ph.D) "completed under the Dissertation Support Program funded by the U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency and administered by the National Academy of Sciences."

Applied study of the mathematical model of differential equations developed by Lewis F. Richardson to describe the behavior of countries engaged in an arms race. Brown develops the economic assumptions of the Richardson model and compares the United States and the Soviet Union in several dimensions of defense spending. Brown proposes a program "that involves a graducted ad valorem tax on defense expenditures with the tax becoming higher annually."

1917
DISARMAMENT. UN monthly chronicle, v. 8, Dec. 1971: 62-67; v. 9, Jan. 1972: 115-119.
JX1977.A1U564, v. 8 and 9

Reviews proceedings of the U.N. First (Political and Security) Committee and the 26th General Assembly on general and complete disarmament, chemical and biological weapons, the suspension of nuclear weapons tests and a comprehensive test ban treaty, a proposed International Atomic Energy Agency service for the peaceful use of nuclear explosions, Protocol II of the Treaty of Tlatelolco, the Secretary-General's report Economic and Social Consequences of the Arms Race and of Military Expenditures (an annotation of which appears elsewhere in this issue of this bibliography), and the declaration of the Indian Ocean as a neutralized, nuclear-free peace zone. The First Committee considered fifteen draft resolutions on these seven agenda items in November 1971 and reported thirteen to the General Assembly, which approved them on December 16.

1918
Holloway, David. STRATEGIC CONCEPTS AND SOVIET POLICY. Survival, v. 13, Nov. 1971: 364-369.
U162.S9, v. 13
Reproduced from a paper presented at a discussion group in the Institute for Strategic Studies.

Sketches Soviet strategic concepts and examines their role in Soviet policymaking within the context of Moscow's decision to take part in the Strategic Arms Limitation Talks (SALT). Holloway asserts that the major objectives of Soviet strategic policy at SALT are based on assumptions and principles that run directly counter to dominant elements in Soviet military-strategic thinking. Although Moscow looks to SALT to stabilize the superpower relationship at parity, Soviet military theorists seek to prevent the acceptance of mutual deterrence as the normal state of affairs. Holloway notes that "the divergence between strategic policy and strategic concepts in the Soviet decision to take part in SALT may be no more than the symptom of a transitional period in Soviet strategic thinking." He concludes that the hope of curbing the arms race must be based not so much on a common understanding of strategic theory and concepts but on a greater understanding of the complex political and bureaucratic processes that serve as the bases for strategic-policy formulation.

1919
ISSUES IN ARMS LIMITATIONS--FOUR VIEWS. Bulletin of the atomic scientists, v. 28, Mar. 1972: 9-26. illus. TK9145.A84, v. 28
Article by Bernard Feld based on a paper presented at a Conference of the World Federation of Scientific Workers, Nov. 21, 1971.

Contents.--Next steps in limiting strategic arms, by Herbert Scoville, Jr.--An end to nuclear gamesmanship, by Hubert H. Humphrey.--Current developments and dangers of atomic armaments, by Bernard T. Feld.--SALT, MIRV and first-strike, by Ralph E. Lapp.

Examines the problems of the nuclear arms race and proffers solutions. Scoville proposes a freeze on offensive weapons systems with a simultaneous announcement of an agreement limiting ABMs. He urges that during this freeze the

superpowers negotiate which weapons programs would be resumed. Humphrey contends that the United States is enough ahead of the Soviet Union in nuclear weapons developments to suspend its multiple independently targetable reentry vehicle (MIRV) program. Some of the more hopeful developments in arms control negotiations are outlined by Feld, who also warns of dangers stemming from the dynamics of the arms race, like MIRV, the deployment of the gigantic Soviet offensive SS-9 missile, and horizontal and vertical nuclear proliferation. Lapp concludes the series by arguing that although theoretical calculations for MIRV may show that the Soviet Union has a first-strike capability, the United States will have strategic sufficiency thoughout this decade.

1920
Lothian, Peter F. W. K., 12th Marquess of. ARMS CONTROL AND DISARMAMENT. In Royal United Services Institute, London. Journal, v. 117, Mar. 1972: 12-19. illus.
U1.R8, v. 117
"A lecture given at the RUSI on 24th November 1971. . . ."

Disarmament is an idealistic hope but not a practical international goal at this time. Nations must begin by reaching limited, realistic agreements on controlling the arms race. Two agreements in particular that deal practically with specific and limited problems, the Limited Nuclear Test Ban Treaty and the Nonproliferation Treaty, have substantially strengthened international security. There are three arms control issues of prime concern today--chemical and biological warfare (CBW); the Strategic Arms Limitation Talks; and mutual and balanced force reductions in Europe. Britain is engaged actively only in the CBW issue. A British Government study several years ago concluded that the Geneva Protocol of 1925 should be updated, its principles applied to the small states as well as to the great powers, and separate treaties for chemical and biological weapons reached. Britain was unjustly criticized for having "sinister intentions" in its initiative for separate treaties. The treaty on banning biological weapons is now, however, before the United Nations for endorsement. The prospect for a similar treaty on chemical warfare is not so favorable in light of the political and military attitudes of the Soviet Union and of the unknown quantity--China. It is to be hoped that China will be included in a more broadly-based forum for future arms control negotiations.

1921
Martin, Joseph. UNITED STATES OUTLINES GOALS IN DISARMAMENT TALKS. In U.S. Dept. of State. Department of State bulletin, v. 66, Apr. 10, 1972: 554-558. JX232.A33, v. 66

Statement made before the opening session of the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament at Geneva on Feb. 29, 1972. Martin outlines U.S. views on arms control issues including the control of chemical weapons, in which he sees the critical issue as "the interrelationship between the scope of attainable prohibitions and the potential of various approaches to verification." Progress in a comprehensive test ban is "tied in closely with understanding and resolving the complex problem of verification." As for the international arms trade, the United States has "no clear-cut answers of an immediate practical nature" to offer, but believes that "a full exchange of ideas--a common search for common principles--can lead to the identification of specific, practical steps on even the most intractable arms limitation problems." The American goal in the area of the strategy and techniques of arms control negotiations is "maintenance of an effective, expert, and experienced body of a reasonably limited size" and procedures that are "simple and informal as possible, . . . provide a framework for a businesslike exchange of views both on the record and in private talks, and . . . avoid situations in which valuable time would be consumed by procedural wrangling."

1922
[PUGWASH EVENTS] Pugwash newsletter, v. 9, Jan. 1972: 77-96. N&CPR

Contents.--Pugwash events: 22nd Pugwash conference. 16th Pugwash symposium.--15th Pugwash symposium: List of participants. Agenda. Papers submitted. Summary of discussions.--"Current developments and Dangers of Atomic Armaments," by Bernard T. Feld.--Obituaries.

Summarizes the agenda of the next Pugwash Conference on Science and World Affairs to be held in September 1972 and reports on the discussions and activities that took place at the 15th Pugwash Symposium held in August 1971. Among the major topics discussed at the symposium were the prospects for arms control and disarmament with respect to tactical nuclear weapons and European security, the problems confronting the convocation of a European security conference, and some of the technical aspects of preventing nuclear weapons accidents and the unauthorized use of these weapons. In his article, Feld notes some of the more hopeful developments in arms control and disarmament against the background of the dangers stemming from the dynamics of the arms race. He concludes by pointing out some of the long-term trends in nuclear weapons technology and by speculating on their possible effects on the stability of an arms limitation accord.

1923
Stein, Eric. LEGAL RESTRAINTS IN MODERN ARMS CONTROL AGREEMENTS. American journal of international law, vol. 66, Apr. 1972: 255-289.
JX1.A6, v. 66
"This article draws on materials used in a series of lectures at the Hague Academy of International Law in the summer of 1971."

Asks whether the legal restraints imposed by arms control agreements have contributed to a "more secure world order and a more rational allocation of world resources." Only the legal restraints in the Test Ban Treaty and the Biological Weapons Convention require states to desist from the activities in which they have been engaged. All other restraints constitute "preventive disarmament." Stein concludes that the "present restraints are incomplete . . . since significant military uses of outer space and the deep seabed remain legitimate." Although arms control measures do not call for the elimination of nuclear weapons and the two superpowers still pursue strategies of nuclear deterrence, the restraints amount in toto to a moderate reform of the international system.

1924
U.S. Congress. House. Committee on Foreign Affairs. ARMS CONTROL AND DISARMAMENT ACT AMENDMENT. Hearing, Ninety-second Congress, second session on H.R. 13336. March 9, 1972. Washington, U.S. Govt. Print. Off., 1972. 36 p. illus.
KF27.F6 1972
Supt. of Docs. no.: Y4.F76/1:Ar5/8/972.

Testimony by officials of the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency in hearings on the authorization for appropriations for fiscal 1973 and 1974. Director Gerard C. Smith reviews the Agency's activities in regards to the Strategic Arms Limitation Talks, mutual and balanced force reductions, the Nonproliferation Treaty, and other program operations and requests additional funds to support growing responsibilities in these areas.

1925
U.S. Congress. House. Committee on Foreign Affairs. ARMS CONTROL AND DISARMAMENT ACT AMENDMENT; report, to accompany H.R. 13336. Washington, U.S. Govt. Print. Off., 1972. 5 p. illus. (92d Congress, 2d session. Report no. 92-935)
DLC

Reports favorably the House bill to extend the authorization for appropriations for the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency for fiscal years 1973 and 1974. The bill approves a $4.5 million increase for the two years because of inflation, increased personnel costs, and increased responsibilities for arms control negotiations. Recent arms control developments in which the Agency has been involved are mentioned and continued intensive negotiations are forecast.

1926
U.S. Congress. Senate. Committee on Foreign Relations. ARMS CONTROL AND DISARMAMENT ACT AMENDMENT. Hearing, Ninety-second Congress, second session, on S. 3200 to amend the arms control and disarmament act, as amended, in order to extend the authorization for appropriations. Washington, U.S. Govt. Print. Off., 1972. 70 p.
DLC
Hearing held Mar. 16, 1972.

Testimony by officials of the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency (ACDA) and private groups in support of the President's request to authorize $22 million for ACDA for fiscal years 1973 and 1974. Gerard C. Smith, director of ACDA, reviewed the Agency's activities in regards to strategic arms limitation, mutual and balanced force reductions, nonproliferation of nuclear weapons and other arms control matters. The Agency's research program has been cut in order to finance American negotiations at the Strategic Arms Limitation Talks. Senator Clifford Case proposed the transfer of the seismic research essential to a comprehensive nuclear test ban from the Department of Defense to ACDA because of the inevitable conflict of interest resulting from arms control research within the military. Smith believes that such a transfer would present "very serious problems that could adversely affect ACDA as well as the seismic research program."

COMPREHENSIVE APPROACHES

1927
Manea, I. DISARMAMENT, THE CAUSE OF ALL PEOPLES. Romania today, no. 2/207, 1972: 31.
DR201.R78, 1972

Romania supports negotiations to end the nuclear arms race and the adoption of the following measures: a ban on the use of nuclear weapons, creation of nuclear-free zones and appropriate guarantees, cessation of the manufacture of nuclear weapons, and the gradual destruction of stockpiles and delivery vehicles. Cognizant of the interdependence between disarmament and mutual trust, Romania favors as a start such partial disarmament measures as the reduction of military budgets, renunciations of force, noninterference of states in the domestic affairs of others, a ban on new military bases and on locating new military weapons on foreign territories, renunciation of military maneuvers on the territory of other states, withdrawal of troops to points within their national borders, and the dissolution of military blocs. As a member of the U.N. Conference of the Committee on Disarmament, Romania has voiced its dissatisfaction with the progress of negotiations. Further, Romania champions "the need for creating an adequate framework enabling all concerned countries to voice their views . . . in the Committee or in another forum, for instance, the Disarmament Commission of the U.N. General Assembly."

1928
NUCLEAR-FREE ZONE DEMANDED, by special correspondent. New Africa, v. 13, no. 7/8, 1971: 7.
HC501.A1N4, v. 13
"('Nigeria Today')."
DT515.A2N48

Reports on a lecture, "Africa and Disarmament," given by Alhaji Sule Kolo, Nigerian High Commissioner in London and former head of the Nigerian delegation to the Eighteen-Nation Disarmament Conference, to the Oxford University Africa Society.

Sule Kolo called for the Soviet Union and the United States to guarantee Africa's continued status as a nuclear-free zone by excluding their rivalries from the continent. Africans accord nuclear disarmament the highest priority in any plan for general and complete disarmament and are suspicious of efforts to regulate the trade and dissemination of conventional weapons "when the more dangerous, the more sinister threat of nuclear warfare has not been given the more urgent and full consideration it deserves." Sule Kolo equated disarmament with the realization of the social contract. "Having ensured the attainment of a degree of security within nation states mankind has always felt a need to insure against an external threat, that is, a threat coming from outside the area of his social contract." This reasoning and the example of the Latin American nuclear-free zone lead Africans to hope for the success of the Strategic Arms Limitation Talks as an essential element in protecting Africa from nuclear armaments.

1929
Siegler, Heinrich, Freiherr von, comp. [DOCUMENTATION ON DISARMAMENT AND SECURITY, V. 5, 1967] Dokumentation zur Abrüstung und Sicherheit, Bd. 5, 1967. Bonn, Siegler & Co. [c1968] 379 p.
JX1974.S52, v. 5

Contents.--Foreword by Heinrich Siegler.--Chronology of events and chronological contents index.--Index of sources.--Documentation.--Subject index.

Fifth volume in an annual series documenting security and disarmament matters. This volume collects 202 documents demonstrating the 1967 course of events in these areas, appearing originally or translated into German.

1930
Siegler, Heinrich, Freiherr von, comp. [DOCUMENTATION ON DISARMAMENT AND SECURITY, V. 6, 1968] Dokumentation zur Abrüstung und Sicherheit, Bd. 6, 1968. Bonn, Siegler & Co. [c1969] 513 p.
JX1974.S52, v. 6

Contents.--Foreword, by Heinrich Siegler.--Chronology of events and chronological contents index.--Index of sources.--Documentation.--Subject index.

Sixth volume in an annual series documenting security and disarmament matters. This volume collects 291 documents demonstrating the 1968 course of events in these areas, appearing originally or translated into German.

1931
Siegler, Heinrich, Freiherr von, comp. [DOCUMENTATION AND SECURITY, V. 7, 1969] Dokumentation zur Abrüstung und Sicherheit, Bd. 7, 1969. Bonn, Siegler & Co. [c1970] 491 p.
JX1974.S52, v. 7

Contents.--Foreword, by Heinrich Siegler.--Chronology of events and chronological contents index.--Index of sources.--Documentation.--Subject index.

Seventh volume in an annual series documenting security and disarmament matters. This volume collects 285 documents demonstrating the 1969 course of events, appearing originally or translated into German.

1932
Siegler, Heinrich, Freiherr von, comp. [DOCUMENTATION ON DISARMAMENT AND SECURITY, V. 8, 1970] Dokumentation zur Abrüstung und Sicherheit, Bd. 8, 1970. Bonn, Siegler & Co. [c1971] 327 p.
JX1974.S52, v. 8

Contents.--Introduction, by Heinrich Siegler.--Chronology of events and chronological index.--Index of sources.--Documentation.--Index of states and organizations.--Subject index.

Eighth volume in an annual series documenting security and disarmament matters. This volume collects 187 documents demonstrating the 1970 course of events in these areas, appearing originally or translated into German. The subjects documented include: antimissile systems, general and complete disarmament, methodology of the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament, biological and chemical weapons, a European security conference, nuclear explosions for peaceful purposes, the Geneva Protocol of 1925, renunciation of force, underground nuclear test ban, conventional arms, mutual and balanced force reduction, Seabed Treaty, freezing and reduction of military budgets, liquidation of military bases abroad, the Mediterranean situation, nuclear-free zones, Nonproliferation Treaty, radiological warfare, regional arms limitations, Strategic Arms Limitation Talks, exchange of seismic data, verification, and the control of the arms trade. The editor's introduction summarizes the year's progress toward disarmament, citing in particular the SALT negotiations and the Seabed Treaty.

1933
U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency. ARMS CONTROL AND DISARMAMENT AGREEMENTS 1959-1972. Washington [For sale by the Supt. of Docs., U.S. Govt. Print. Off., 1972] 119 p. (Its Publication 62)
DLC

Contents.--The Antarctic Treaty.--"Hot line" agreement.--Limited Test Ban Treaty.--Outer Space Treaty.--Treaty for the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons in Latin America.--Non-Proliferation Treaty.--Seabed Arms Control Treaty.--Accidents agreement.--"Hot line" modernization agreement.--Biological weapons convention.--SALT ABM treaty.--SALT interim agreement.--Protocol to the interim agreement.

Texts of arms control treaties signed by the United States from the Antarctic Treaty of Decem-

ber 1959 to the SALT interim agreement of May 1972.

1934
Väyrynen, Raimo. PROSPECTS FOR ARMS LIMITATION TALKS: NEGOTIATIONS, ASYMMETRIES AND NEUTRAL COUNTRIES. Coexistence, v. 9, Mar. 1972: 1-15. illus. HC1.C63, v. 9

"This article is a revised version of a paper presented to the Fifteenth Pugwash Symposium on Tactical Arms Limitation in Europe, Lahti, Finland, 22-24 August 1971."

Future arms control negotiations including tactical arms limitation talks and mutual and balanced force reductions should be based on a structuralist rather than a legalist approach and deal with qualitative as well as quantitative arms control arrangements. The basic task prior to more negotiations is to institutionalize the European security system so that arms control efforts can be coordinated with it. For a stable European security system the currently asymmetric relations between East and West in regards to military, economic and geographical capabilities, particularly the two last, must be remedied. The neutral countries can implement a policy of symmetric neutrality by working as bridge-builders between the superpowers in creating this security system. They can act as proxy for one of the powers, make simultaneous suggestions, and pool their efforts to influence the superpowers and to deal with general and specific problems. All nations ought to pursue general strategies in achieving arms control: institutionalization of the European security system, the multilateralization of the security structure, use of a structuralist orientation and new incentives to promote disarmament, and the combination of disarmament strategies for success.

1935
WORLD DISARMAMENT CONFERENCE. UN monthly chronicle, v. 8, Dec. 1971: 57-59; v. 9, Jan. 1972: 119-120. JX1977.A1U564, v. 8 and 9

Summarizes the 26th U.N. General Assembly proceedings on a Soviet proposal for a world disarmament conference convened to conclude a treaty on general and complete disarmament. Consideration of a Soviet draft resolution, introduced on November 3, 1971, was temporarily suspended on November 26 and renewed at a later date after submission of proposals and amendments. "The majority of the representatives favoured the convening of a world disarmament conference, but some did not necessarily agree with the terms proposed by the USSR." A resolution sponsored by Mexico and 26 other nations was adopted by acclamation on December 16. The Soviet measure was not acted on.

ARMS CONTROL: SPECIFIC PROBLEMS AND MEASURES

REDUCING THE RISK OF WAR

1936
Burton, John W. RESOLUTION OF CONFLICT. International studies quarterly, v. 16, Mar. 1972: 5-29.
D839.B2, v. 16

"Critical Remarks on John Burton's Paper on Resolution of Conflict with Special Reference to the Cyprus Conflict," by Jean-Pierre Cot, p. 31-39; "Some Further Comments--In Reply to Criticism," by John W. Burton, p. 41-52; "Some Notes on John Burton's Papers on 'Resolution of Conflict,'" by Laura Nader, p. 53-58.

Describes the step-by-step procedures seemingly required for the resolution of communal or international conflict giving the theoretical reasons for each. Burton contrasts this approach with traditional mediatory processes by using the Cyprus conflict as an example. Burton's approach is deductive rather than inductive because it applies generalizations about conflict to the particular situation rather than starting from the facts of the situation. He asserts that "conflict is essentially subjective" and, to some extent, due "to false perceptions of the motivations of the other party and to false forecasting of costs . . . in relation to values sought." Burton contends that mediation is a learned technique and that all conflicts possess common patterns making them essentially the same. He says a good mediator will never suggest solutions or encourage compromise but will apply a broad knowledge of the nature of world society and of conflict so that the parties themselves reach a solution. Authority derives from the conflicting parties and not from an external state or institution. Jean-Pierre Cot criticizes Burton's emphasis on the subjective causes of international conflict and finds his mediatory process unrealistic. Laura Nader notes that Burton "has not adequately considered culture as a variable" in his set of conflict resolution techniques.

1937
Dommen, Arthur J. CONFLICT IN LAOS; THE POLITICS OF NEUTRALIZATION. Rev. ed. New York, Praeger [1971] 454 p. illus.
DS557.L28D6 1971
Bibliography: p. 428-443.

History of the war in Laos and the international diplomacy connected with it. Dommen believes that "the survival of a Laos that is not a colonial possession occupied by European or American garrisons, a Vietnamese fief in a Communist-dominated Indochinese federation, or a vassal of China depends on the effective neutralization of Laos by international consent," but that a settlement in Laos cannot be divorced from resolution of the conflicts in Vietnam and Cambodia.

1938
Wienand, Karl. [ALTERNATIVES TO THE STRATEGY OF DETERRENCE? SECURITY THROUGH INTERDEPENDENCE] Alternativen zur Abschreckungsstrategie? Sicherheit durch Interdependenz. Wehrkunde, v. 21, Mar. 1972: 113-117. U3.W396, v. 21

Détente developments like the Moscow and Warsaw treaties pave the way for an era of East-West trust in which economic, scientific, and cultural ties between the NATO and Warsaw Pact states can be built and strengthened. Cooperation in these fields establishes a complicated web of interdependent relations among states so that these ties themselves become a constituent part of security along with other instruments such as mutual balanced force reductions. Concomitant with an increase in European collaboration, NATO should redirect its emphasis from war prevention to peace promotion. Although the maintenance of a system of mutual deterrence is necessary for some time to come, the importance of military forces will decline as the fruits of European cooperation increase and joint projects replace autarkical competition.

CONVENTIONAL ARMS TRANSFERS

1939
Bosgra, S. J., and Chr. van Krimpen. PORTUGAL AND NATO. Amsterdam, Angola Comité [1969?] 47 p. illus.
UA646.5.P8B6713
Translation of Portugal en de NATO.
Includes bibliographical references.

Contents.--NATO and Portugal.--Financial support.--The air force.--The navy.--The army.--The U.S.A.--West Germany.--France.--Great Britain.--NATO leadership.--Conclusion.

Charges NATO is aiding Portugal's colonial wars in Africa, acquiescing in the injustices and brutalities that are being inflicted in these wars. The authors survey the Portuguese armed forces, the types and the number of weapons, and the countries from which they came. They also examine the legal and political aspects of the military aid provided by Portugal's four main suppliers, the United States, Great Britain, France, and West Germany.

1940
Červenka, Zdenek. THE ARMS TRADE IN AFRICA. Africa (London) no. 7, Mar. 1972: 14-17. illus.
HF46.A25, 1972

According to the study by the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute entitled The Arms Trade with the Third World (cited in this issue of the bibliography), $2.8 billion worth of the $17.5 billion of arms exports to the Third World between 1950 and 1969 went to Africa. The continuing Middle East conflict, the Nigerian war, the tension in South Africa and Rhodesia, and the Somali-Ethiopia border dispute have occasioned the recent influx of arms to Africa. The arms suppliers are motivated by political and/or economic objectives. The United States is politically motivated "to foster an anti-communist world oriented military community" while the Soviet Union seeks strategic advantages in the Mediterranean Sea and influence in local politics. Great Britain is no longer motivated by simple political or strategic considerations in its arms trade with Africa. The commercial aspects have officially dominated British arms trade since 1966 just as they have always dominated French arms trade in Africa. The Chinese military presence in Africa is marked by the principle of noninterference in domestic affairs and a readiness to provide military assistance to liberation movements. Though Africa has been regarded hopefully as an area for regional arms control agreements, disarmament will not be accepted unless colonialism and racism--the causes of the arms race--are eliminated.

1941
Edmonds, Martin. CIVIL WAR AND ARMS SALES: THE NIGERIAN-BIAFRAN WAR AND OTHER CASES. In Higham, Robin, comp. Civil wars in the twentieth century. Lexington, University Press of Kentucky, 1972: 203-216. D431.H54
Bibliography: p. 244-245.

The most important distinction in arms sales during civil wars is whether they are active (direct supplier involvement) or passive (provision of materiel only). Dissident forces in civil wars often fight successfully with simple weapons, increasing the demand of government forces for sophisticated counterinsurgency weapons from outside suppliers. Government forces in secessionist civil wars usually have the advantage of established arms sources, but if the opposition survives, it may obtain its own. In Nigeria, "the length of time in which the Biafrans were able to sustain the conflict was directly related to the external supply of arms." The three sources of civil war arms are customary suppliers to the established government, private nongovernmental firms, and, for secessionists, captured enemy weapons or those obtained from convenient sources. Sometimes, as in Nigeria, the question of what is an "arms sale" is not always clear. The Nigerian war was unlike other post-1945 civil conflicts in that the initial low level of arms sophistication improved as the war progressed. The nature of civil war arms sales is complicated in analysis because of the involvement of third parties and because the immediate suppliers may not be the manufacturers. No clear pattern of external arms sales in post-1945 civil wars is discernible, but the Nigerian war has "demonstrated the potential of the international trade in arms, whether governmental or private; and a capacity of this scale should not be underestimated."

1942
Gray, Colin S. TRAFFIC CONTROL FOR THE ARMS TRADE? Foreign policy, no. 6, spring 1972: 153-169.
N&CPR

There is less truth than falsehood in the conventional wisdom concerning the arms trade. Few assumptions concerning the evils of the trade, or the benefits of multilateral regulation, are supported by the evidence. Furthermore, speculation on the prospects for international control are usually much too sanguine. The problem is not one that lends itself to a technocratic solution. All in all, "the complexities of the Strategic Arms Limitation Talks look simple indeed in comparison with the interactions and motives involved in the trade, traffic, and transfer of conventional arms." The heart of the matter is this: The trade flourishes because force is an everpresent reality in international politics. To regulate the trade, one must regulate the demand, and this, unfortunately or not, is beyond the present capacities of any nation or group of nations to do. As long as supplier states derive economic and political benefits from the sale or granting of arms, and as long as there is no supranational guarantor of national security, the prospects for regulating the arms trade "are extremely poor." For the United States, then, military assistance and military sales are a necessary evil. As things now stand, policymakers "have no choice but to bid for influence (however insecure) in a world from which the traffic in arms is ineradicable."

1943
International Institute for Peace and Conflict Research. THE ARMS TRADE WITH THE THIRD WORLD [by] Stockholm International Peace Research Institute. Stockholm, Almqvist & Wiksell; New York, Humanities Press [1971] xxxi, 910 p. illus.
HD9743.H2I57
Bibliography: p. 884-896.

Contents.--pt. 1. General survey and proposals: General survey. Proposals concerning the arms trade.--pt. 2. The suppliers: The United States. The Soviet Union. The United Kingdom. France. Italy. Canada. The Federal Republic of Germany. Japan. Sweden. Switzerland. The People's Republic of China. The economic pressures to export.--pt. 3. The recipients: The Far East. The Indian sub-continent. The Middle East. North Africa. Sub-Saharan Africa. South Africa. Latin America. Domestic defence production in Third World countries.--pt. 4. Reference material: Sources and

methods. Government statistics. Trade statistics. Maintenance and operating costs for certain types of war material. Glossary of weapons. Country registers. Aggregate tables.--Bibliography.--Index.

A study of the arms trade between developed and developing countries. Some consideration is also given to the production of arms by developing countries. Part 1 is a general survey of this trade and a review of the proposals advanced for its regulation. Parts 2 and 3 examine the policies of individual countries in greater detail. The study concludes that in those areas where competition between the superpowers is intense, there is little chance of establishing a system of trade regulation. Where this competition is weak, an approach based on regional recipient-country agreements to regulate production as well as trade is recommended. A really successful system of regulation on any larger scale awaits progress in U.S.-Soviet détente. Meanwhile, proponents of control might give more attention to measures to weaken the existing links between the superpower and Third World arms races.

1944

Taylor, Trevor. THE CONTROL OF THE ARMS TRADE. International relations (London) v. 3, May 1971: 903-912, 940. JX1.I64, v. 3

Surveys problems related to the negotiation of arms trade agreements and analyzes ways of improving control. Taylor expects that the developing states will continue a high level of arms demand and that they will increasingly seek modern and sophisticated weapons. "The need for arms control is therefore urgent, and responsibility for it lies very much with arms manufacturing states." At the same time Taylor acknowledges that arms restrictions have not noticeably reduced conflicts, encouraged political stability, or spurred economic growth in the Third World, although there are economic benefits for the dealer nation. He further shows that the escalation of arms acquisitions in the quest for deterrence is essentially the same process, at different energy levels, for small countries as for superpowers. Taylor recommends controlling quantity and style of weapons sold, making arms transactions public, working to reduce international tensions, and requiring the Defense Department to consult the State Department, Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, AID, and the Treasury and not to arrange arms sales independently.

1945

U.S. Assistant Secretary of Defense (International Security Affairs). MILITARY ASSISTANCE AND FOREIGN MILITARY SALES FACTS. [Washington?] 1971. 24 p. illus. UA12.U4613 1971

Supersedes Military assistance facts issued by the Dept. of Defense.

A compilation, both narrative and statistical, of all releasable information about the Military Assistance and Foreign Military Sales Programs. The report stresses that implementation of the Nixon Doctrine and reduction of the U.S. military presence overseas depend on adequate military capability for America's allies. New initiatives include a military assistance program for Cambodia and a force modernization program for Korea.

1946

U.S. Department of Defense. Defense Security Assistance Agency. MILITARY ASSISTANCE AND FOREIGN MILITARY SALES FACTS. [Washington] 1972. 18 p. illus. DLC

A statistical summary of U.S. military assistance and foreign military sales programs from 1950 to 1972 including tables for each program showing total funds expended annually, legislative histories of authorizations and appropriations, the distribution of funds by region and category, deliveries by fiscal year per country, and totals of selected items delivered.

1947

U.S. General Accounting Office. UNITED STATES ECONOMIC AND MILITARY FOREIGN ASSISTANCE PROGRAMS. Compilation of General Accounting Office, [sic] report findings and recommendations. Report to the Committee on Foreign Relations, United States Senate. Washington, U.S. Govt. Print. Off., 1971. 62 p. HC60.U6G4 1971

At head of title: 92d Congress, 1st session. Committee Print.

Partial contents.--Foreword, by J. W. Fulbright. --pt. 2. Military assistance: Overall program adminstration. Management of materiel programs. Management of training programs. Foreign military sales programs.--Appendix.

Summarizes the findings and recommendations of over 80 General Accounting Office reports between 1965 and 1970 on U.S. economic and military assistance programs. On a case-by-case basis, the study reveals "bureaucratic woe, mismanagement, and inefficiency" in the administration of foreign aid. The surveys of military assistance programs include examples of shortcomings in the funding of HAWK surface-to-air missile production in Europe, the provision of naval vessels to Iran and air defense equipment to the Republic of China, and aircraft supply support and spare-part supply management in the Far East. Many of the accounts are indicated as being unclassified summaries of classified reports, containing "new information in the sense that it has not been made available previously to the public."

NUCLEAR PROLIFERATION

1948

Barnaby, C. Frank. MAN AND THE ATOM; THE USES OF NUCLEAR ENERGY. New York, Funk and Wagnalls

[1971] 216 p. illus. (The World of science library) QC792.B37 1971b
Bibliography: p. 211-212.

Contents.--Introduction.--The birth of the bomb.--Atoms for peace.--Nuclear realities.--The versatile radionuclide.--Mini-reactors.--Nuclear explosions in peace.--The nuclear future.--Glossary.--Bibliography.--Sources of illustrations.--Index.

Survey of the peaceful uses of nuclear energy. Barnaby warns that although nuclear energy can provide much good in terms of cheap and abundant power, fresh water, new methods for industry, and inexpensive propulsion for ships and transport to outer space, the nuclear arms race threatens to stifle the progress in the peaceful uses of this energy if it continues at its present pace. He concludes with a plea against nuclear weapons proliferation, emphasizing that further increases in the number of nuclear-weapon states will lead to greater tension and a more unstable world.

1949
Bayandor, Darioush. MAINTENANCE OF THE NPT IN THE 1970S: THE ASIAN DIMENSION. In Columbia essays in international affairs, volume VI: The Dean's papers, 1970. By students of the Faculty of International Affairs, Columbia University. Edited by Andrew W. Cordier. New York, Columbia University Press, 1971: 198-228.
JX1395.C6
Includes bibliographical references.

Emergence of a sixth nuclear power presents a threat to the successful maintenance of the Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty. Examination of the problems and policies of three nations--Israel, India, and Japan--may indicate whether they have already decided to develop a nuclear weapons option. Israel appears to have a weapons capability and a delivery system would present no problem. Working against nuclear acquisition may be Israel's undoubted conventional superiority and its fear of American reaction, but possession of an option gives Jerusalem leverage in obtaining conventional arms. However, covert stockpiling is certainly a possibility. India's nuclear program has been pledged for peaceful uses, but Indian forces have engaged Chinese and Pakistani troops in the past decade, and New Delhi has unsuccessfully sought great-power security guarantees. The tremendous economic cost has inhibited an Indian weapons program, while China's growing military capability has argued for it strongly. The development of a weapons option at least seems the most likely course. Japan definitely possesses weapon and delivery capabilities, and, while retaining its "nuclear allergy," clearly desires recognition as a great power and the commensurate role. Japanese realism dictates development of a convertible weapons option.

1950
Bethill, Charles D. NONMILITARY INCENTIVES FOR THE ACQUISITION OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS. In Columbia essays in international affairs, volume VI: The Dean's papers, 1970. By students of the Faculty of International Affairs, Columbia University. Edited by Andrew W. Cordier. New York, Columbia University Press, 1971: 40-64.
JX1395.C6
Includes bibliographical references.

Most analysts have concentrated on the strictly military factors leading a nation to acquire nuclear weapons, but there are a number of nonmilitary reasons as well. In international politics, nuclear weapons automatically confer great-power status; they are seen as useful in acquiring prestige and influence, securing entrance to select international forums, and competing for ideological allegiance. Possession of nuclear weapons may enable a state to form an alliance or obtain admission into it, ensure a leading voice in alliance councils, and permit a reduction of commitments or withdrawal without risk to the state's strategic or international position. Domestically, three social elites--the military, the political hardliners, and the industrial managers--may find it in their self-interest to make their nation a nuclear power; a weapons program may also be thought to stimulate general economic growth, increase electric power generation, and spin off technological benefits and advances. Finally, psychological impulses and misconceptions, masquerading as military reasoning, can foster a decision to acquire nuclear arms. The illusory desire to promote security through a nuclear capability and the dynamics of nuclear technological progression toward an arms program are factors here. "Obviously, the formulation and acceptance of meaningful diplomatic accords on arms control and disarmament is possible only if the diverse incentives for nuclear-weapons acquisition are recognized and if suitable provisions are made to alternatively satisfy the military and the political functions of these arms."

1951
Brundtland, Arne O. THE PROBLEMS POSED BY NUCLEAR WEAPONS. In Nobel Symposium, 17th, Oslo, 1970. Small states in international relations. Edited by August Schou and Arne O. Brundtland. New York, Wiley Interscience Division [c1971]: 243-250. JX1395.N6 1970b
Participants: Ronald P. Barston, Karl E. Birnbaum, Annette Baker Fox, Johan J. Holst, John J. Okumu, S. L. Poplai, John Sanness, Gerald Stourzh, and David Vital.

Summarizes oral discussion focusing mainly on the consequences of the acquisition of nuclear weapons by lesser states. "A number of participants stressed that while many arguments against proliferation could be valid in the European context, they were not automatically relevant to the situation in Africa and Asia."

1952
Coffey, Joseph I. NUCLEAR GUARANTEES AND NONPROLIFERATION. International organization, v. 25, autumn 1971: 836-844.
JX1901.I55, v. 25

"This article is an adaptation of an essay entitled 'Threat, Reassurance, and Nuclear Proliferation,' in Nuclear Proliferation: Prospects for Control, ed. Bennett Boskey and Mason Willrich (New York: Dunellen Publishing Co., 1970), pp. 119-132." JX1974.7.N83

Questions the efficacy of the Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty by explaining the reasons for Indian, Israeli, Japanese, and West German reluctance to surrender the option to develop a nuclear capacity. Coffey discusses ways of alleviating such fears, including assurances of aid and security from the United States to provide a more reliable nuclear umbrella than now exists. Even more stable guarantees might be offered by joint arrangements with other nuclear powers, although Coffey warns that such superpower cooperation, while essential, might arouse new fears in small countries. To encourage broad participation, the United Nations should be called on to take a greater role in deterring aggression. Of prime importance is the accurate interpretation of possible threats and American caution to prevent overreaction and exaggeration. The United States must carefully reexamine its relations with nonnuclear states, with other nuclear powers, and with the United Nations.

1953
Feodosiev, V. DISARMAMENT: ORDER OF THE DAY. International affairs (Moscow) Jan. 1972: 103-104.
D839.I465, 1972

Reports on the meeting of the World Peace Council Commission on Disarmament in Moscow on October 30-31, 1971 which dealt with the problems of limiting the arms race, the socio-economic effects of disarmament, and the connection between disarmament and environmental problems. In its message to the United Nations General Assembly the meeting supported the earliest possible convocation of a World Disarmament Conference.

1954
Fischer, Georges. THE NON-PROLIFERATION OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS; translated [from the French] by David Willey. London, Europa, 1971. 270 p.
JX1974.7.F5523
Revision by the author of La non-prolifération des armes nucléaires, Paris. Libraire générale de droit et de jurisprudence, 1969.
JX1974.7.F55
Includes bibliographical references.

Contents.--Origins.--The problem of non-proliferation.--The drafting of the treaty.--The ban on the transfer, receipt and manufacture of nuclear weapons.--Policing the ban.--Peaceful uses of nuclear energy.--Final clauses.--Security guarantees.--Collateral measures.--Conclusion.--Appendices.

Traces the origins of the Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty (NPT), describing the drafting of the treaty and the problems encountered. Other arms control proposals examined include the comprehensive test ban and the denuclearization of the ocean floor and seabed. The appendixes include a Soviet draft of the NPT as well as the full text of the treaty.

1955
Holst, Johan J. SMALL POWERS IN A NUCLEAR WORLD. In Nobel Symposium, 17th, Oslo, 1970. Small states in international relations. Edited by August Schou and Arne O. Brundtland. New York, Wiley Interscience Division [c1971]: [187]-194.
JX1395.N6 1970b

Although restoration of "nuclear virginity" to international politics is now impossible, nonnuclear states still retain a number of effective options. In a world of more than one superpower, the political convertibility of nuclear armaments is limited, for reciprocal deterrence paralyzes the superpowers' strategic power, and fear of escalation hampers their conventional power, giving the lesser states opportunities for flexible policies. This benefit is not inherent in nuclear weapons, however, but flows from the existing superpower configuration, which could be modified should the superpowers act in concert. This means that "to the extent that the Small Powers, by acquiring nuclear weapons, would cause the Superpowers to work cooperatively to oppose the further proliferation and employment of nuclear weapons, they would also tend to reduce their own political influence." Among the wide range of nonnuclear approaches to nuclear realities, some lesser powers have chosen alliance to a principal nuclear power, thereby apparently increasing their nuclear security more than had they acquired a limited nuclear force. Others have retained "absolute virginity" and signed the Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty (NPT), but most are incapable of developing nuclear weapons anyway. Many developed states that are NPT signatories have in reality only provisionally renounced nuclear weapons, with some apparently deciding for a mobilization base policy for nuclear weapons. Other postures are possible.

1956
Jabber, Fuad. ISRAEL AND NUCLEAR WEAPONS: PRESENT OPTION AND FUTURE STRATEGIES. London, Chatto and Windus for the International Institute for Strategic Studies, 1971. 164 p.
UA853.I8J3
Bibliography: p. 149-156.

Contents.--pt. 1. The nuclear establishment: The early years. Nahal Soreq. Dimona. Nuclear infrastructure and policy-making bodies. Future developments: nuclear desalting.--pt. 2. The military option: The requirements of weapons production. The fuel problem. Delivery systems.--pt. 3. Israel's strategic doctrine and nuclear weapons: The ends. The means: conventional. The means: nuclear.--Bibliography.--Index.

Discusses Israel's existing peaceful nuclear energy program, the requirements for development and

acquisition of nuclear weapons systems, and the uses to which an Israeli strategic deterrent might be put in the Middle East context. Jabber believes that for the present Israel will most likely maintain a nuclear weapons option without acceding to the Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty. Should Israel ultimately decide to go nuclear, it could either keep its newly-acquired status secret and forego any concomitant political advantages, or announce its attainment "to bring maximum possible pressure to bear on the Arab side so as to obtain a permanent (irreversible) settlement on most favourable terms and at minimum cost in terms of manpower." Jabber concludes that in the absence of adoption of a more flexible Israeli foreign policy and amelioration of legitimate Palestinian grievances, nuclear weapons will ensure national survival without producing peace.

1957
Millar, Thomas B. THE NUCLEAR NON-PROLIFERATION TREATY AND SUPER POWER CONDOMINIUM. In Super powers and world order. Editor: Carsten Holbraad. Canberra, Australian National University Press, 1971: 64-73.
JX1395.S9

Revised and expanded version of a paper originally presented during a series of seminars arranged by the Department of International Relations in the Research School of Pacific Studies at the Australian National University in September, October and November 1969.

Many nations have not signed the Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty because it "represents a deliberate or implicit attempt at condominium by the two super powers, the United States and the Soviet Union." The treaty is objectionable because its imposition of nonproliferation is unaccompanied by restraints on the superpower arms race. The worldwide diffusion of technological information and increased access to nuclear materials nullified the original unilateral proliferation controls, necessitating the treaty as a means of reassuring condominium. The treaty's imperfections include the absence of two of the nuclear states as parties and the failure of many other nations to ratify, with China's nuclear program the greatest flaw in the condominium. "The Non-Proliferation Treaty is undoubtedly an exercise in condominium, or at least an attempt at joint control" which "has not yet come off" due to the reluctance and fears of many nonnuclear states.

1958
Schott, David B. JAPAN AND NUCLEAR WEAPONS. SAIS review, v. 16, winter 1972: 31-40.
D839.S35, v. 16

Recent high-level statements have reaffirmed Japan's rejection of nuclear arms and reliance on the U.S. deterrent. The new defense plan omits nuclear weapons. A definite Soviet or Chinese threat, feared withdrawal of the U.S. deterrent, or questions of national prestige may cause Japan to go nuclear. However, the real fact of U.S. strategic protection, the certainty of intense political opposition, the widespread public "nuclear allergy," probable disruption in foreign relations and pressing domestic problems all militate against the acquisiton of nuclear weapons. Japan could be very vulnerable to attack in the first stages of development, and a comprehensive program would be extremely costly in financial and human terms. Before beginning, Japan would have to revise its atomic energy law and repudiate the Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty, which it has signed but not ratified due to questions about safeguard standards. Public opinion surveys indicate most Japanese expect their country to acquire nuclear weapons eventually. Japan is interested in uranium enrichment methods to fuel a planned reactor network to meet growing power needs. Separate development of an enrichment technology is the most likely course, because the secrecy required under an internationally shared technology scheme would be precluded by provisions of the atomic energy law. This base will give Japan a weapons option. Japan is not turning to nuclear weapons now, and may not when a new defense plan is devised by new leadership, but the option will still be open.

1959
Svala, Gertrud. SWEDEN'S VIEW OF THE NON-PROLIFERATION TREATY. In Columbia essays in international affairs, volume VI: The Dean's papers, 1970. By students of the Faculty of International Affairs, Columbia University. Edited by Andrew W. Cordier. New York, Columbia University Press, 1971: 92-115. JX1395.C6

Includes bibliographical references.

Although a strong supporter of international peace, Sweden delayed signing the Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty (NPT) and still finds fault with a number of its provisions. Sweden is not greatly concerned with the NPT's omission of security guarantees, but is highly critical of its economic and commercial implications. It fears possible military advantages spun off from the nuclear powers' civil nuclear programs, nuclear-power monopolization of the international trade in nuclear material and equipment, and unsatisfactory provision and regulation of peaceful nuclear explosions. It doubts that the NPT will be effective in arresting proliferation, pointing to loopholes on the stockpiling of plutonium by nonnuclear states and on safeguard controls regarding certain uses and transfers of nuclear materials. Sweden feels that safeguards should be applied equally to the civil nuclear programs of all states. While recognizing the worth of nonproliferation, Sweden sees the superpower arms race as a greater threat than the spread of nuclear weapons. It would strengthen the NPT with a seismologically monitored comprehensive nuclear test ban to arrest arms development and with a cutoff of further production of fissionable material, accompanied by the extension and tightening of safeguards. Sweden's "active

neutrality" advances its defense and foreign policies by guarding against involvement in war and promoting greater world order. Its reservations about the NPT should be seen in this light, not as a longing to acquire nuclear weapons.

CHEMICAL AND BIOLOGICAL AGENTS

1960
Arkadev, N. ABOLISH THE "SILENT WEAPON". New times, no. 16, Apr. 1972: 18-20. illus.
D839.N483, 1972

The signing of the Convention on the Prohibition of the Development, Production and Stockpiling of Bacteriological (Biological) and Toxin Weapons and on Their Destruction is an important practical disarmament measure which abolishes for the first time an entire class of mass destruction weapons. The Soviet Union has long preferred a comprehensive agreement covering both chemical and biological weapons, while the Western states insisted on considering the issues separately. The Soviet Union rejects Chinese criticism that the Convention abandons the demand for the prohibition of chemical weapons by excluding a chemical weapons ban. The Convention in fact calls on all states to comply with the objectives of the Geneva Protocol of 1925 prohibiting the use of poisonous gases in war. The biological weapons ban was achieved through the efforts of the Socialist community and so it can be hoped that a Soviet proposal submitted to the Disarmament Committee in March 1972 for a similar ban on chemical weapons may be achieved. Thus the peace program of the 24th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union is being carried out.

1961
CONVENTION ON BIOLOGICAL AND TOXIN WEAPONS SIGNED BY 74 NATIONS AT WASHINGTON. In U.S. Dept. of State. Department of State bulletin, v. 66, May 1, 1972: 615-618.
JX232.A33, v. 66

Remarks by U.S. Secretary of State William P. Rogers, British Ambassador to the United States Lord Cromer, Soviet Ambassador Anatoliy F. Dobrynin, and President Richard M. Nixon on the occasion of the opening for signature at Washington, D.C., on April 10, 1972, of the Convention on the Prohibition of the Development, Production and Stockpiling of Bacteriological (Biological) and Toxin Weapons and on Their Destruction. The speakers are at one in seeing the agreement as part of what Secretary Rogers calls "the growing fabric of multilateral arms control agreements," as being important in itself, but also as valuable for the additional impetus it gives to other phases of the arms control effort.

1962
HARVEST OF DEATH; CHEMICAL WARFARE IN VIETNAM AND CAMBODIA [by] J. B. Neilands [and others] With a foreword by Gunnar Myrdal. New York, Free Press [c1972] 304 p. illus.
DS557.A68H35 1972
Includes bibliographies.

Contents.--pt. 1. Antipersonnel gases: Gas warfare in Vietnam in perspective, by J. B. Neilands. Medical aspects of antipersonnel gases, by Alje Vennema.--pt. 2. Herbicides: The military uses of herbicides in Vietnam, by E. W. Pfeiffer and Gordon H. Orians. Herbicidal damage to Cambodia, by Arthur H. Westing.--pt. 3. Appendixes.--Glossary: abbreviations, definitions, scientific names, and terminology.--Bibliography.--Index.

Examines military uses of chemical agents in Indochina by the United States. Neilands reviews the history and legal status of chemical warfare and surveys the nature and toxicology of riot-control and other chemical agents used. Vennema describes the physiological and medical effects of antipersonnel gases on several Vietnamese patients. Pfeiffer and Orians recount the findings of their 1969 trip to Vietnam to examine the ecological effects of U.S. herbicidal warfare and defoliation programs, and Westing similarly describes his and Pfeiffer's 1969-1970 visit to Cambodia for the same purpose. Holding that herbicides and nonlethal agents are prohibited by the 1925 Geneva Protocol, the authors believe the American scientific community has a responsibility to acquaint the public with the results of U.S. chemical warfare policy in Indochina, so that Congress can enact remedial and compensatory legislation.

1963
Jack, Homer A. ANOTHER "FIRST" IN DISARMAMENT. America, v. 126, Apr. 29, 1972: 460-461. illus.
BX801.A5, v. 126

The treaty for the destruction of biological agents is the first disarmament measure since World War II to provide for the actual total elimination of existing weapons. This accomplishment is less than perfect because the number of nations stockpiling biological weapons is not known. The Conference of the Committee on Disarmament distinguished biological agents from chemical agents because of U.S. reluctance to have the latter prohibited while they are being used in Vietnam. The treaty requires signatories to eliminate all existing stocks nine months after going into force, but use of biological agents is not explicitly prohibited, nor are adequate inspection procedures provided for. The treaty does pledge the parties to work for a similar ban on chemical agents. The 26th U.N. General Assembly adopted this and two other related resolutions overwhelmingly. The treaty is an important step toward general and complete disarmament, but should not be overrated.

1964
A TECHNOLOGY ASSESSMENT OF THE VIETNAM DEFOLIANT MATTER. AN EVALUATION BY A SCIENTIFIC ORGANIZATION. Supplement: HERBICIDES. ENVIRONMENTAL HEALTH EFFECTS; VIETNAM AND THE GENEVA PROTOCOL; DEVELOPMENTS DURING 1970. In U.S. Library of Congress. Science Policy Research Division. Technical information for Congress; report to the Subcommittee on Science, Research, and Development of the Committee on Science and Astronautics, U.S. House of Representatives, Ninety-second Congress, first session. Rev. Washington, U.S. Govt. Print. Off., 1971. p. 531-614. illus.
Q127.U6A5337 1971
Includes bibliographical footnotes.

Details the position of the American Association for the Advancement of Science concerning research into the ecological consequences of the military application of defoliants in Vietnam. Background material on the development of herbicides is presented, along with a history of the military use of chemical agents. A supplement updates the report to 1970.

1965
Wallau, Theodor. [THE TASKS OF THE GENEVA DISARMAMENT COMMITTEE IN 1972. ON THE STATE OF THE DISARMAMENT DISCUSSION] Die Aufgaben des Genfer Abrüstungsausschusses im Jahre 1972. Zum Stand der Abrüstungsdiskussion. Europa-Archiv, v. 27, Apr. 10, 1972: 249-256. D839.E86, v. 27

Analyzes present prospects for an agreement on chemical weapons and an underground nuclear test ban at the Geneva Conference of the Committee on Disarmament (CCD). Technical problems of verification make an agreement on either problem doubtful. The last CCD session demonstrated that any agreement is largely dependent on the creation of a state of trust between the superpowers. According to Wallau, the Communist contention that the West, specifically the United States, is using verification as a pretense to cover up an unwillingness to negotiate seriously is gaining ground. An agreement between Washington and Moscow at the Strategic Arms Limitation Talks could improve the negotiating climate at CCD and increase pressure on the two superpowers to reach an agreement on chemical warfare agents and underground testing. Nonetheless, Wallau cautions, optimism is not in order. A change in the basic political positions of the superpowers is a prerequisite to agreement.

STRATEGIC ARMS LIMITATION

1966
Bellany, Ian. THE CENTRAL BALANCE: ARMS RACE AND ARMS CONTROL. In Super powers and world order. Editor: Carsten Holbraad. Canberra, Australian National University Press, 1971: 41-63.
JX1395.S9
Revised and expanded version of a paper originally presented during a series of seminars arranged by the Department of International Relations in the Research School of Pacific Studies at the Australian National University in September, October and November 1969.

A major factor in the Soviet-American arms race has been the "action-reaction phenomenon" in which a perceived strategic advance by one side called forth a response from the other. Economic considerations and technological advances that allowed de-emphasis of a weapons system have acted as "natural" brakes on this process. An accelerating but overrated "natural" factor has been military and industrial pressure. However, political intervention in the operation of the natural factors has done most to shape the strategic forces, with the assured-destruction and damage-limitation philosophies encouraging the growth and refinement of offensive systems. Political intervention has also exerted a limiting and restraining influence. At the Strategic Arms Limitation Talks (SALT), the unverifiableness of the nature of multiple independently targetable reentry vehicle (MIRV) deployment works against MIRV control. However, "what seems to be at least verifiable would be an agreed limit on the total number of offensive delivery vehicles, ICBMs and submarines, and a limit on the total number of anti-missile missiles." The thorniest problem for both SALT parties will be the mutual strategic adjustments required in the light of the growing Chinese nuclear capability. For the moment the Soviet-American condominium is impressive. But cheap, effective, and unorthodox nuclear forces may emerge, and a SALT agreement could reduce or reverse the strategic gap between the superpowers and the other nuclear states. If the superpower deterrent credibility against the lesser powers is ever called into question, the definition of political power accepted since the advent of nuclear weapons could be undermined.

1967
Brock, William E. THE SHIFTING BALANCE. Ordnance, v. 56, Mar./Apr. 1972: 366-368. illus.
UF1.067, v. 56

The shift in the current nuclear power balance in favor of the Soviet Union was encouraged by those Americans who theorized that a state of permanent equality or parity could be achieved. This theory "collapsed when the Soviets were not satisfied with parity and kept on building." While the Strategic Arms Limitation Talks represent a rational approach to slowing the arms race, the Soviets continued to produce nuclear weapons during this period of extended negotiations. The conventional forces balance has also been shifting and the Soviet fleet represents a clear threat to American logistic maneuverability. The United States must be able to move with conventional forces to prevent Soviet encroachment on a free country and in all its world dealings must negotiate from a position of strength. "Unless we understand the intimate relationship between negotiations and power, we could well fade from the in-

ternational scene as a nation which affects the course of human events."

1968

Mansfield, Michael J. THE NIXON-BREZHNEV TREATY. Remarks in the Senate of the United States, June 19, 1972. Congressional record [daily ed.] Ninety-second Congress, second session, v. 118: S9596-S9608. J11.R52, v. 118

Insertion into the Record of the materials from the White House briefing of 130 members of Congress on the recently concluded Strategic Arms Limitation Treaty and Interim Agreement including President Nixon's statements, Henry Kissinger's remarks, and the question and answer session. Senator Mansfield also ordered the reprinting of three editorials on the recent SALT agreements from the Great Falls Tribune of Great Falls, Montana, and an article critical of defense spending from the Los Angeles Times.

1969

Paolucci, Dominic A. THE REALITIES OF ARMS LIMITATIONS. In United States Naval Institute, Annapolis. Proceedings, v. 98, May 1972: 178-189. illus. V1.U8, v. 98

Probes the parameters of arms control with particular attention to the Strategic Arms Limitation Talks (SALT), citing the advantages possible from exploitation of the negotiation situation, the danger of cheating, the advantages gained by breaking an agreement, and the elements constituting a "good" agreement. The benefits of cost reduction and reduced world tensions promised by arms control, Paolucci explains, are not as great as thought at first glance. The facts are that the more limiting an arms control agreement the more costly is the required surveillance system (the converse also being true) and "the more stringent the agreement, the more contingencies each nation would have to cope with to reduce the chance of surprise over a wide variety of cheating by the other side." The limitation of strategic weapons cannot automatically reduce tensions and may in fact increase them. However, "there can be little doubt that an agreement of some sort will eventually be established between the United States and the Soviet Union." Strategic weapons systems other than those covered in a SALT accord will then become the subject of future negotiations. Paloucci believes that "a practical solution is to negotiate initially an agreement which provides for clearly redundant offensive forces on each side and which makes provision for a PANG [permanent arms negotiating group]." Later, with an increase in confidence, this redundancy can be trimmed.

1970

THE PRESIDENT'S TRIP TO AUSTRIA, THE SOVIET UNION, IRAN, AND POLAND. Weekly compilation of Presidential documents, v. 8, June 5, 1972: [9091-991. J80.A284, v. 8

Public record of President Nixon's trip to and from the summit in Moscow. Materials presented are both formal and informal and include toasts, remarks to the press, joint communiques, and official statements by Henry Kissinger and others as well as the texts of agreements signed and explanations of the strategic arms negotiations and their implications. Dr. Kissinger praised the American negotiation efforts, noting that "we have an extremely able delegation and very able negotiator." President Nixon's address to a joint session of the Congress asserts that the arms limitation agreements "forestall a major spiraling of the arms race."

1971

Proxmire, William. SALT TREATY SHOULD BE OPPOSED UNLESS IT REDUCES MILITARY SPENDING. Remarks in the Senate of the United States, June 12, 1972. Congressional record [daily ed.] Ninety-second Congress, second session, v. 118: S9164-S9166. J11.R52, v. 118

Welcomes the Strategic Arms Limitation Treaty as a harbinger of peace and improved relations with the Soviet Union if it will slow down the arms race and reduce defense spending. Senator Proxmire will withhold support for the treaty, however, until the Administration discloses its impact on future defense spending. The Administration has indicated that the Trident submarine and B-1 bomber programs will be accelerated even if the treaty becomes effective. Proxmire believes "defense spending ought to be reduced as a result of the Moscow treaty and the savings passed on to the taxpayer." Included is an article by Alton H. Quanbeck and Barry M. Blechman entitled "The Arms Accords: Everyone Gains" reprinted from the Washington Post showing the "potential savings that could result if the spirit of the Moscow treaty is lived up to."

1972

QUANTITY CONTROL. Scientific American, v. 227, July 1972: 48-50. T1.S5, v. 227

The Soviet-American strategic arms limitation agreements mark the first time the superpowers have agreed to quantitative limitations of their strategic weapons and constitute formal recognition by the two sides of the benefits of mutual deterrence. However, critics suggest that the arms race may now shift from numerical to qualitative competition. This, along with proffered new weapons systems, will be the focus of congressional debate. Of the two agreements, the treaty restricting antiballistic missile (ABM) deployment is less controversial and should encounter little resistance in the Senate. The treaty is based on the premise that ABM defense is destabilizing to mutual deterrence. The interim agreement restricting the size of offensive missile forces gives the Soviets quantitative advantages which, however, are amply compensated for by the American lead in strategic bombers and multiple indepen-

dently targetable reentry vehicle technology and the U.S. forward-base system.

1973
Schneider, Mark B. RUSSIA AND THE ABM. Ordnance, v. 56, Mar./Apr. 1972: 372-374. illus.
UF1.067, v. 56

Warns that the Soviet antiballistic missile system (ABM) is more sophisticated and flexible than hitherto considered. Schneider argues that the American acceptance of a "low ABM" agreement at the Strategic Arms Limitation Talks would be "simply handing" the Soviets a first-strike capability. He supports his argument by describing the Soviet radar, including the sophisticated Dog House installations and the massive Hen House radars, and the Galosh long-range exoatmospheric interceptor missile which may soon be equipped with "loiter capability." Surface-to-air missiles and short-range interceptor missiles could be tied in with the radar permitting the Soviets to perform a clandestine upgrading of their ABM that the United States might not reliably detect.

1974
THE TEST BAN TREATY--A STUDY IN MILITARY AND POLITICAL COST EFFECTIVENESS. In U.S. Library of Congress. Science Policy Research Division. Technical information for Congress; report to the Subcommittee on Science, Research, and Development of the Committee on Science and Astronautics, U.S. House of Representatives, Ninety-second Congress, first session. Rev. Washington, U.S. Govt. Print. Off., 1971. p. 193-240.
Q127.U6A5337 1971
Includes bibliographical footnotes.

Constructs a history of the development and passage of the Nuclear Test Ban Treaty from records of its consideration in the Senate, discussions and testimony from hearings, and references to negotiations with the Soviet Union. The Committee reported that it had absorbed a good deal of technical material and learned that even expert scientists cannot always give unequivocal answers.

1975
United States. Congress. Senate. Committee on Armed Services. MILITARY IMPLICATIONS OF THE TREATY ON THE LIMITATIONS OF ANTI-BALLISTIC MISSILE SYSTEMS AND THE INTERIM AGREEMENT ON LIMITATION OF STRATEGIC OFFENSIVE ARMS. Hearing, Ninety-second Congress, second session. June 6, 20, 22, 28; July 18, 19, 21, 24, and 25, 1972. Washington, U.S. Govt. Print. Off., 1972. 592 p.
DLC

Testimony from military and civilian officials of the Departments of State and Defense, the Joint Chiefs of Staff, and the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency on the impact on U.S. security and the military budget of the Treaty on the Limitations of Anti-Ballistic Missile Systems and the Interim Agreement on Certain Measures with respect to the Limitation of Strategic Offensive Arms, signed by the United States and the Soviet Union at Moscow on May 26, 1972.

1976
United States. Congress. Senate. Committee on Foreign Relations. AGREEMENT ON LIMITATION OF STRATEGIC OFFENSIVE WEAPONS; report to accompany S.J. Res. 241. [Washington, U.S. Govt. Print. Off., 1972] 10 p. (92d Congress, 2d session. Senate. Report no. 92-979) DLC
"Calendar No. 929."

Recommends Senate passage of the joint resolution approving the Soviet-American Interim Agreement on the Limitation of Strategic Offensive Weapons. Senator Sparkman quotes at length from the analysis of the agreement provided by Secretary of State Rogers and summarizes the varying opinions expressed at the committee's hearings on the Strategic Arms Limitation agreements (an annotation of which appears elsewhere in this issue of this bibliography). "The one striking concept that emerged in the course of the hearing was that the United States and the Soviet Union have at last reached a point at which sufficiency of weapons, rather than attempted superiority on both sides, can be the guiding principle in the quest for viable relationships," he says. Senator Sparkman also notes that some committee members question the salutary effect that immediate full development of new weapons systems can be thought to have on future bilateral arms negotiations.

1977
U.S. Congress. Senate. Committee on Foreign Relations. STRATEGIC ARMS LIMITATION AGREEMENTS. Hearings, Ninety-second Congress, second session. Washington, U.S. Govt. Print. Off., 1972. 435 p.
DLC

Hearings held June 19-21, 26, 28-29, and July 20, 1972 on S.J. Res. 241, 242.

Statements from senators, scientists, professors, military men, and concerned citizens on the proposed treaty on the limitation of antiballistic missiles and the interim agreement on offensive missiles concluded during President Nixon's trip to Moscow. Senator James L. Buckley expressed his "strong misgivings as to both the prudence and the ultimate morality of denying ourselves for all time, or denying the Russians, for that matter, the right to protect our civilian populations from nuclear devastation." Gerard C. Smith, Director of the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, assured the committee that the agreements could not lead to American inferiority, for the United States maintains superiority in many areas of the nuclear arsenal.

1978
U.S. Congress. Senate. Committee on Foreign Relations. TREATY ON LIMITATION OF ANTI-BALLISTIC-

MISSILE SYSTEMS; report to accompany Ex. L, 92-2. [Washington, U.S. Govt. Print. Off., 1972] 10 p. (92d Congress, 2d session. Senate. Report no. 92-28) DLC

Recommends Senate ratification of the Treaty on Limitation of Anti-Ballistic-Missile Systems. The report commends the "evenhandedness and comprehensiveness" of both the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency and the Central Intelligence Agency but regrets the administration rejection of the participation by senators in the Strategic Arms Limitation Talks as either observers or delegation members. The analysis of the treaty provided by the Secretary of State is included as well as a summation of the committee hearings on the treaty. The committee is not persuaded as to the necessity or value of the national capital ABM site and "believes that national restraint in the case of the deployment of the National Capital defense might have a salutary effect upon the Soviet Union."

1979

U.S. Treaties, etc. Russia (U.S.S.R.), May 26, 1972. SALT AGREEMENTS. Communication from the President of the United States transmitting copies of the treaty on the limitation of anti-ballistic missile systems and the interim agreement on certain measures with respect to the limitation of strategic arms signed in Moscow on May 26, 1972. 31 p. (92d Congress, 2d session. House. Document no. 92-311) DLC

Letters from President Nixon to the Senate and House of Representatives accompanying copies of the May 26, 1972, strategic arms agreement signed in Moscow. The President stresses that despite the indications of a new and constructive Soviet-U.S. relationship, a strategic modernization program is still vitally necessary to insure lasting security and protection for the United States. A message from Secretary of State Rogers precedes the formal treaty and explains various sections and provisions.

1980

Wolfe, Thomas W. IMPACT OF ECONOMIC AND TECHNOLOGICAL ISSUES ON THE SOVIET APPROACH TO SALT. [Santa Monica, Calif., Rand Corporation] 1970. 36 p. ([Rand Corporation. Paper] P-4368)
AS36.R28 no. 4368

Includes bibliographical references.

Draft of a paper presented on May 20, 1970 to the Special Subcommittee on the Strategic Arms Limitation Talks of the Senate Committee on Armed Services.

Conjectures that economic considerations forced the Soviet Union to enter into negotiations with the United States on the limitation of strategic arms. Wolfe notes, however, that despite internal economic difficulties "Soviet leaders are quite prepared to tolerate an annual military-spending increase . . . provided that they consider such a military effort necessary to support Soviet interests." He discusses a number of interrelated questions concerning Soviet foreign and defense policies, including the Soviet technological dilemma and its implications, the motivation behind the Soviet strategic buildup during the past five years, and the issue of "militance and caution" in future Soviet behavior.

REGIONAL ARRANGEMENTS

1981

Aćimović, Ljubivoje. EUROPEAN REALITIES AND ASPIRATIONS. Review of international affairs, v. 22, Dec. 5, 1971: 10, 23-24.
D839.R4, v. 22

The European problem today stems less and less from inter-Allied issues left over from World War II than from the cold war and the struggle between the superpowers for world domination. The essence of the solution lies in changing the international system so as "to eliminate the bloc structure and barriers as well as the hegemonistic position of the great powers, and to build a new system of truly free and equal international relations in a spirit of the principles of peaceful coexistence." The resolution of the complex of problems regarding European borders and the Germanys only will be preparatory to an essential transformation of the international system in which blocs are disbanded, spheres of interest abolished, and the hegemony of the great powers destroyed. The European states can achieve these changes by reducing the military-political presence of the superpowers in Europe and by cooperating in bilateral and multilateral military, economic and cultural arrangements.

1982

Bertram, Christoph. MUTUAL FORCE REDUCTIONS IN EUROPE: THE POLITICAL ASPECTS. London, Institute for Strategic Studies, 1972. 34 p. (Adelphi papers, no. 84) U162.A3, no. 84

Includes bibliographical notes.

Contents.--Genesis, motives and pre-negotiation positions.--MBFR in the East-West context.--MBFR and the western alliance.--A policy for the West.--Notes.

Analyzes the political ramifications of mutual and balanced force reductions (MBFR) and outlines a negotiating position for the West that takes into account the détente problem inherent in MBFR, that is, "to improve East-West relations without impairing Western--and particularly West European--security." Bertram examines three possible approaches to MBFR: military balance, political linkage, and the instrumental approach. He sees political linkage as having special merit because "it combines the caution of the status quo with openmindedness to possible change." Bertram proposes that MBFR negotiations "should deal first with American troop reductions and should move to arms control proper after this stage has been successfully completed." This two-round arrangement,

possible within the framework of a conference on European security, would give first priority to reducing the forces of the superpowers in Europe, thus helping to meet the growing demand in the United States for partial withdrawal, even at the risk of a reduction of equal percentages. A second negotiating round to be held later would take up the issue of thinning out national forces.

1983
Daillier, Pierre. [DETERRENCE STRATEGY AND EUROPEAN SECURITY] Stratégie de dissuasion et sécurité européenne. Revue militaire générale; general military review, Dec. 1971: 613-643.
U2.R48, 1971
Includes summaries in English and German.

Summarizes proceedings of a Franco-American symposium held from September 14th to 19th, 1971 at the Stanford Research Institute that examined deterrence strategy and the problems involved in the achievement of European security. The participants assess the Soviet threat in Europe by comparing NATO and Warsaw Pact force capabilities. According to William Kintner, the Soviet Union's chief objectives are to reinforce its hold on Eastern Europe, encourage the division of Western Europe, and extend its influence and diminish that of the United States in neighboring areas like the Middle East. Daillier is skeptical of the chances for the construction of a strong and unified Europe, especially in view of the Soviet opposition to any such plan.

1984
EUROPEAN SECURITY AND THE SOVIET PROBLEM: REPORT OF A STUDY GROUP OF THE INSTITUTE FOR THE STUDY OF CONFLICT, LONDON, JULY-NOVEMBER 1971. London, Institute for the Study of Conflict, 1972. 65 p. illus. (Institute for the Study of Conflict, Special reports) UA770.E87

Analyzes the Soviet attitude toward a European security conference and treaty stressing such factors as the Soviet leadership, foreign policymaking machinery, concept of international law, and world goals. The report outlines the weaknesses of the Soviet position in these negotiations--the rise of the Soviet consumer, the Sino-Soviet rift, the waning of Communist ideology, and the looser grip on Eastern Europe and the non-Russian minority groups. Western weaknesses cited are American isolationism, the erosion of NATO, the civil violence manifest in many Western societies, economic problems, and the electoral opportunities for the Communists in the 1973 elections in Italy, France and Germany. The report points out three illusions that the West may fall victim to: the possibility of a real détente with the Soviet Union; the Soviet Union's wish for peace with America to counter the Chinese threat; and the disappearance of the Soviet threat because of internal disorganization. Several pages of charts comparing U.S./U.S.S.R. and NATO/Warsaw Pact military forces are included as well as a review of Soviet treaty violations.

1985
Grosberg, Jack. SOVIET DEFINITIONS AND THE EUROPEAN SECURITY CONFERENCE. East West digest, v. 8, Mar. 1972: 180-184. N&CPR

In order to understand Soviet objectives in a European security conference, it is necessary to clarify Soviet definitions of concepts of territorial status quo, mutual and balanced force reductions (MBFR), neutrality, and peaceful coexistence. The Soviet Union and the NATO states define these concepts quite differently. The Soviet Union interprets territorial status quo to mean that the post-World War II borders set up by the Soviet satellization process are permanent. The MBFR issue is unclear because the Soviet Union is more concerned about the internal situation among its satellites than "NATO militarism." While the concepts of neutrality and peaceful coexistence imply the cessation of propaganda, freedom of travel and accessibility to the press to NATO states, they have opposite implications to the Soviet Union.

1986
Hanevold, Truls. THE ANTARCTIC TREATY CONSULTATIVE MEETINGS--FORM AND PROCEDURE. Cooperation and conflict, no. 3/4, 1971: 183-199.
DL55.C66, 1971

The Antarctic Treaty of 1959 established a consultative system for the purpose of passing recommendations to the signatory governments in pursuit of the objects and principles of the treaty. This article is a study in international negotiations. After an introduction detailing the background for the negotiations, attention is drawn to the possible long-term aims and strategies of the parties in view of their attitudes on the question of rights and claims in Antarctica and their capabilities for conducting scientific research there. In part two the preparations for the consultative meetings and their influence on the decisionmaking process are described. Part three deals with the consultative meetings themselves, how the delegations are composed, and their instructions and behaviour during the negotiations. Different types of sessions and their particular characteristics are discussed. The dynamics of the negotiations are treated in part four, which includes a discussion of strategies, types of arguments, self-commitments, concessions and strategies. (Abstract supplied)

1987
Kaiser, Karl. PROSPECTS FOR WEST GERMANY AFTER THE BERLIN AGREEMENT. World today, v. 28, Jan. 1972: 30-35. D410.W63, v. 28
Article based on a talk given at Chatham House.

Describes West Germany's present policy toward East Germany; briefly appraises the Moscow and Warsaw treaties and the Berlin Four-Power Agreement; sketches several tasks for West German foreign policy, including the conclusion of intra-German negotiations; and speculates on the effects

of West Germany's Ostpolitik on the structure of East-West relations in Europe. Soviet policy, as manifested in the Moscow and Warsaw treaties and the Berlin agreement, reflects a greater willingness to engage in a relaxation of tensions. However, in view of a possible weakening of America's commitment to Europe and the likelihood that a further erosion of economic cooperation in Western Europe may spill over into the area of political security and cooperation, West Germany's first priority must be to strengthen West European cooperation. Kaiser concludes that the West's policy toward the East will be even more problematic in the future because of the contradictions inherent in wanting to relax tensions in Europe while at the same time being aware of Soviet exploitation of such a desire and between negotiating with Communist states while resisting the rise of domestic Communist parties.

1988
Kirk, Peter. [SECURITY CONFERENCE AND TROOP REDUCTION] Sicherheitskonferenz und Truppenverminderung. Wehrkunde, v. 21, Mar. 1972: 117-122.
U3.W396, v. 21

While no insoluble contradiction exists between defense and détente, neglect of the former would tempt the Soviet Union to seek a political advantage through adventure rather than by negotiation. Also, the vagueness of the agenda for the proposed European security conference would inhibit its success. The Russians, for example, would seek Western approval of the status quo in Eastern Europe while the creation of a euphoric atmosphere could cause the United States to unilaterally cut its commitment to Western Europe. The West must guard against contributing to these Soviet aims. Whatever linkage may develop between this proposed conference and mutual and balanced force reductions (MBFR), the two must be handled separately. The asymmetric and strategic differences between NATO and the Warsaw Pact would probably make any compromise disadvantageous by NATO military criteria. Yet NATO should be regarded in a larger political context, for it is clear that "the question of troop reductions is inseparably and intimately bound up with other policies which represent actual or possible topics for negotiation in East-West talks." The best solution to MBFR is a gradual approach that might simply start with a freeze in present force levels and eventually lead to a state of mutual trust so as to make actual reductions feasible.

1989
Marquard, Leopold. A FEDERATION OF SOUTHERN AFRICA. London, Oxford University Press, 1971. [10], 142 p. illus. DT733.M37
Includes bibliographical references.

Contents.--The present dilemma.--The meaning of federation.--Federalism in southern Africa.--South Africa's neighbours.--Changes since 1910.--The case for federation: non-whites in South Africa.--The case for federation: South Africa's neighbours.--The case for federation: whites in South Africa.--Advantages of federation.--How federation could happen.--Conclusion.--Index.

Proposes a southern African federation of fifteen autonomous regions comprising the present trust territory of Namibia (Southwest Africa) and the states of Swaziland, Botswana, and the Republic of South Africa partitioned into eleven regions. Marquard argues that South Africa's apartheid policies have led to an isolation which will produce either stagnation or racial conflict. A federation could avert these results and bring economic growth and other benefits to all the peoples of the area, he maintains.

1990
Melchior de Molènes, Charles. [SWITZERLAND AND EUROPEAN UNIFICATION] La Suisse et l'unification européenne. Revue militaire générale; general military review, Feb. 1972: 203-218.
U2.R48, 1972
Includes summaries in English and German.

Although Switzerland is not a member of the Common Market, it has joined other European organizations like the European Free Trade Association, indicating that it will not remain outside the main current that is bringing Western Europe toward increasing integration. However, Switzerland has had a long history of neutrality and the majority of the Swiss people consider Common Market membership incompatible with this tradition. Added to this is that Europe today is in an economic, political, and military decline and the swing toward cooperation seems to have weakened. Switzerland is an example of a country that was unified by the need for a common defense. European integration could come about as a result of the same need, which would confirm the importance of military factors in the evolution of human societies.

1991
Mel'nikov, Daniil. [A BALANCE OF TERROR OR A BALANCE OF REASON] Gleichgewicht des Schreckens oder Gleichgewicht der Vernunft. Sowjetunion heute (Cologne), v. 17, Mar. 1, 1972: 27.
DK266.A2S784, v. 17

The West's theory of deterrence rests on the paradox that a global conflict can be avoided only by the expansion and improvement of military inventories. Since the beginning of the East-West détente many scholars have recognized the folly of this strategy. In fact, Dieter Senghaas asserts that deterrence undermines the capacity for self-control by combining false notions of reality, nightmares of future conflicts, and other pathological fears with the awesome and destructive means of acting them out. Senghaas' pessimism, however, overlooks the progress being made by the Socialist

countries and by forward-looking elements in the capitalist states. Aware that a stable peace in Europe can never be achieved through intimidation and deterrence, they seek a balance of reason and therefore support the call for an all-European security conference.

1992
Menzel, Eberhard. [BASIC QUESTIONS ON A EUROPEAN SECURITY SYSTEM] Grundfragen eines europäischen Sicherheitssystems. In Deutsche Gesellschaft für Völkerrecht. Völkerrechtliches Gewaltverbot und Friedenssicherung; Berichte, Referate, Diskussionen einer Studientagung der Deutschen Gesellschaft für Völkerrecht. Baden-Baden, Nomos Verlagsgesellschaft [c1971]: 261-335.
JX1963.D48

A European security system ought not to be formed through a treaty between NATO and the Warsaw Pact, for each of these defense organizations is externally oriented against the other. What is needed, on the contrary, is a single internally-oriented system among the European states, with the United States and the Soviet Union possibly serving as guarantors. However, the two existing defense organizations ought not to be dissolved. Dismemberment would mean that Western defense would devolve on an uncoordinated series of national defense establishments, whereas the Eastern states would still be bound to one another through the existing fabric of bilateral military arrangements. Preparations for a security system would have to include the study of international legal matters pertaining to the prohibition on the use of force, the validity of the Communist "national struggles of liberation," the enemy-state clauses in the U.N. Charter, and the territorial and political status of Germany. On the military side, measures to prevent surprise attack, disarmament arrangements, the issue of foreign bases and the question of international control and institutionalization of the system must be explored and agreed upon.

1993
Morris, C. E. THE PROSPECTS FOR A EUROPEAN SECURITY CONFERENCE. Army quarterly, v. 102, Oct. 1971: 7-11. U1.A85, v. 102

Because of domestic pressure to reduce the American military commitment abroad and to institute an all-volunteer army by 1973, President Nixon initiated the NATO decision to respond to the Warsaw Pact proposal for mutual and balanced force reductions (MBFR) in Europe. Political "optimists" believe the Soviet Union proposed MBFR because it is sincerely interested in reducing European tension and because mounting defense costs divert resources from consumer goods. "Pessimists", on the other hand, see the Soviet proposal as one more attempt to precipitate American withdrawal from Europe and encourage domestic American pressure to reduce overseas military commitments. Any military formula for securing MBFR will be complex and difficult to agree upon, because a simple man-for-man reduction would favor the Warsaw Pact states. But even before progress can be made on MBFR there must be significant progress on resolution of the German problem. There is also a need to institutionalize the arms balance in Central Europe in a manner similar to that of the superpowers in their Strategic Arms Limitation Talks. The Soviet-West German treaty indicates the Soviet Union may be willing to enter exploratory discussions for a European security conference.

1994
NATIONAL VIEWS ON NEUTRALISM AND EAST-WEST DÉTENTE; Interdoc Conference, Deidesheim, 19th and 20th September 1969. [The Hague, International Documentation and Information Centre, 1970] 109 p.
JX5371.N24 1969

This booklet is the second in a series on Neutralism and Détente.

Contents.--Foreword.--Western views on détente. American contribution, by Gerald L. Steibel.--East-West détente, by Alan Lee Williams.--East-West détente, by W. F. K. Thompson.--France and "peaceful coexistence," by Nicolas Lang.--Neutrality and détente seen from the viewpoint of the Federal Reupblic of Germany, by H. Lades.--Neutralism and East-West détente--wishful thinking or reality? Italian contribution, by A. Camponeschi.--Canada's attitude towards détente and neutralism, by Eric Waldman.--Neutralism and East-West détente--wishful thinking or reality? Scandinavian contribution, by P. A. Heegaard-Poulsen.--Netherlands thoughts on peace and security, détente and neutrality, by F. C. Spits.--Neutrality and neutralism as seen through Swiss eyes, by Hans Graf.--The "peaceful coexistence" strategy of the international Communist movement and the Asian situation, by Etsuo Kohtani.--Views of Interdoc youth on neutralism and East-West détente--wishful thinking or reality? by U. H. Holl.--Summary, by Rolf Geyer.

Contributors from ten countries examine the problems associated with détente and neutralism. The Conference concludes that, among other things, a state is unlikely to be excluded from the East-West confrontation by implementing a policy of neutralism. It further notes that a European security system would ease East-West tensions but that at the present time certain preconditions for such a system are not in evidence.

1995
Palmer, Michael. A EUROPEAN SECURITY CONFERENCE: PREPARATION AND PROCEDURE. World today, v. 28, Jan. 1972: 36-46. D410.W63, v. 28

Suggests solutions to some of the major procedural and organizational problems confronting the proposed European security conference. Included

among the problems discussed are the choice of a chairman, the decisionmaking system, and the official languages. Only the conference itself will be able to decide whether or not it should be reconvened or institutions established to perpetuate its work. Palmer concludes that if a conference is to run smoothly, preparation in both substantive and procedural matters must be thorough.

1996
Palmer, Michael. THE PROSPECTS FOR A EUROPEAN SECURITY CONFERENCE. London, Chatham House: PEP, 1971. 107 p. (European series, no. 18)
D1050.5.P3
Includes bibliographical references.

Contents.--Introduction.--Background.--Development of the main themes.--Motives.--The context.--What kind of conference?--A European commission.--Conclusions.--Appendices: Development of the attitudes of the Warsaw Pact and NATO concerning a European conference. Extracts from official statements on a European security conference.

Reviews the background and the attitudes of the NATO and Warsaw Pact states to a European security conference [ESC] and analyzes proposals relevant to its form, machinery and substance while suggesting some difficulties from the Western viewpoint. Palmer indicates that the central problem in convening an ESC is that "whereas the Warsaw Pact countries seem to have a clear idea of what advantages they might obtain from an ESC, the members of NATO have not so far worked out a common approach to the conference in terms of aims and benefits they could derive."

1997
[THE PROBLEM OF EUROPEAN SECURITY] Le problème de la sécurité européenne. [Strasbourg?] 1970. 121 p. D1053.P75
At head of title: Institut [i.e. Centre universitaire] des haute études européennes de Strasbourg et Association européenne d'histoire contemporaine.
Includes bibliographical references.

Contents.--The facts and the perspectives, by J. de Folin.--Round table discussion (Colloquy at Strasbourg).--Official texts, 1966-1969.

Background information on the problems of establishing a viable European security system in the post-war decades. Folin contends that security is inextricably linked to the problem of the unification of Europe. Several members of the Institute of Advanced European Studies participated in the round table discussion. Official texts include statements, addresses, declarations, and communiques pertaining to the problem of European security.

1998
Raven, Wolfram von. [HERE A DIMINUTION--THERE AN AUGMENTATION OF MIGHT. TROOP REDUCTION IN EAST AND WEST] Hie Machtminderung--dort Machtmehrung. Truppenreduktion in Ost und West. Politische Meinung, v. 17, Jan./Feb. 1972: 47-58.
H5.P75, v. 17

Examines the problems that will confront NATO and Warsaw Pact negotiators at any mutual and balanced force reduction (MBFR) talks. These problems include the basic rationale underlying the two blocs, the numerical superiority of Soviet-bloc forces vis-a-vis NATO, geostrategic asymmetry, and the question of nuclear weapons. Although every effort is being made to make the NATO proposals negotiable, acceptable, and simple, Raven holds that MBFR negotiations will be the most difficult enterprise NATO has undertaken, exceeding in complexity the Strategic Arms Limitation Talks. The dangerous Western tendency of setting prior examples without demanding immediate counterperformance by the other side, for example, the unilateral, good-faith withdrawal of a given percent of the American forces, would preclude serious Soviet negotiations and lead Moscow to believe that the West would eventually accept one-for-one reductions. Besides, "a compromise between the two camps that is designed to preserve the status quo will certainly never come to pass" as long as the East energetically continues to increase its war-making capacity while the West reduces its potential.

1999
Schwarz, Hans-Peter. [DÉTENTE IDEOLOGY AND EUROPEAN REALITIES. THE MODERATE PROGRESSIVES AND THEIR SECURITY CONFERENCE] Entspannungs-Ideologie und europäische Realitäten. Die gemässigt Progressiven und ihre Sicherheitskonferenz. Politische Meinung, v. 17, Jan./Feb. 1972: 5-23.
H5.P75, v. 17

Accuses the moderate progressives of embracing the Moscow-inspired security conference because of an unwarranted negative evaluation of the current security system, the increased confidence in the efficacy of collective renunciation-of-force agreements, and an extremely ambivalent notion of what Europe is and should be. Schwarz avers that these progressives have forgotten that the prolonged peace now enjoyed is due to the strength of the Atlantic alliance, that the aggression against Czechoslovakia belies the sincerity of Soviet pledges, and that the Europe envisaged in the West is a political and intellectual concept rather than a geographic expression.

2000
Skowroński, Andrzej. [DISARMAMENT PROBLEMS IN EUROPE] Abrüstungsprobleme in Europa. Blätter für deutsche und internationale Politik, v. 17, Feb. 1972: 116-122. D839.B57, v. 17

The conclusion of the Moscow and Warsaw treaties and the Berlin Agreement, the ongoing Strategic Arms Limitation Talks, and the improving prospects for a European security conference create a

favorable climate for European disarmament measures. That climate could be further improved were West Germany to ratify the Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty (NPT) and the Western European members of the European Atomic Energy Community to ratify the agreements reached with the International Atomic Energy Agency. Factors adversely affecting a disarmament understanding are the developing inequality in relations between European NPT signatories, increased NATO appropriations and operational planning for tactical nuclear weapons, the Western tendency to make disarmament dependent on political demands (and in the same way to make arms limitations a precondition for a European security conference), and Western subordination of a disarmament dialog to a "mutual balance" of forces that will consider asymmetric factors like geography. The so-called imbalance in Europe must be regarded within the framework of the global parity that currently characterizes the mutuallly recognized relationship between the two world systems. European military asymmetry cannot, therefore, be used as a methodological determinant for reducing the force levels of the two blocs.

2001
Subrahmanyam, K., and J. P. Anand. INDIAN OCEAN AS AN AREA OF PEACE. India quarterly, v. 27, Oct./Dec. 1971: 289-315.
D410.I44, v. 27

India and Sri Lanka have called for the declaration of the Indian Ocean area as a zone of peace, free from nuclear weapons and great-power competition. The 1970 Lusaka Nonalined Conference adopted a resolution to this effect. To counter an expanding Soviet naval presence, the United States is moving to establish an apparent strategic deterrent in the Indian Ocean. Exaggerating the dimensions of Soviet activity, the British have proclaimed the value of the Simonstown base agreement with South Africa for the security of vital trade routes and are endeavoring to establish a cooperative defense arrangement with four regional Commonwealth countries. Sino-Soviet competition is growing throughout the Indian Ocean littoral countries, and the views of the United States and China have converged with respect to Soviet influence. An intensive, long-range Chinese naval buildup is increasingly evident. In view of all these developments, "the expectation that the three major powers of the world will abide by the wishes of the non-aligned countries and keep the Indian Ocean area as an area of peace, appears to be somewhat over-optimistic."

2002
Tatu, Michel. THE FOUR-POWER AGREEMENT ON BERLIN. Survival, v. 13, Nov. 1971: 382-389.
U162.S9, v. 13
Reprinted from Le Monde, Sept. 4, 1971.
N&CPR

Contents.--Solid gains for the West.--Text of the agreement.

Contends that the four-power agreement on Berlin has proved to be far more advantageous to the West. The text of the agreement is reprinted together with the Agreed Minutes relating to visas for residents of West Berlin and to the establishment of a Soviet Consulate-General there.

2003
[WHERE IS EUROPE HEADED? CURRENT ASPECTS, HISTORY, PERSPECTIVES OF THE PROBLEM OF EUROPEAN SECURITY] Wohin geht Europa? Aktuelle Aspekte, Geschichte, Perspektiven des Problems der europäischen Sicherheit. (Hrsg. vom Deutschen Institut für Zeitgeschichte. Leitg. des Autorenkollektivs und Gesamtredaktion: Peter Klein und Stefan Doernberg.) Berlin, Deutscher Verlag der Wissenschaften, 1970. 394 p. D1058.W58
Includes bibliographical references.

Contents.--German imperialism threatens the security of Europe.--The struggle of the Socialist states for securing European security 1954-1965.--The struggle for European security 1966-1970.--Normalization of relations between the GDR and the FRG--a key issue in European security.--Renunciation of force--essential element of a European security system.--Nonproliferation of nuclear weapons--decisive contribution to European security.--Peaceful coexistence of the economic systems--economic basis of a European peace order.--Epilog.--Abbreviations.--Notes.--Chronology of the struggle for European security (Jan. 1, 1954 to Aug. 31, 1970).

A Communist view of the efforts to secure European peace. The epilog stresses that this continuing effort is the paramount issue facing Europe, since Europe is the main area of confrontation between the two social systems. Four basic trends are discerned: the danger to the peace of Europe stems from imperialism, socialism is the alternative to imperialism, the struggle for European security is an organic part of the class struggle, and the German Democratic Republic has made a significant contribution to peace. The key to European security is a system wherein all European states recognize the territorial status quo and the territorial integrity, sovereignty, and equality of their neighbors. "The creation of a European security system will lead to a reduction of the opportunities for the imperialists to wage their policies of aggression and expansion."

2004
Wisniowski, Janusz A. PROBLEMS OF POLITICAL EQUILIBRIUM IN THE SOVIET PROPOSALS FOR A EUROPEAN SECURITY CONFERENCE. In Columbia essays in international affairs, volume VI: The Dean's papers, 1970. By students of the Faculty of International Affairs, Columbia University. Edited by Andrew W. Cordier. New York, Columbia University Press, 1971: 151-174. illus.
JX1395.C6
Includes bibliographical references.

Evaluates the 1966 Bucharest Conference and 1967 Karlovy Vary Conference proposals on European se-

curity against the background of a cybernetic analysis of European systemic interaction. Wisniowski finds that the Soviet Union desires the transformation of the European status quo by formalizing its existing configuration to legitimize the division of Germany. The consolidation of Europe on Soviet terms, he says, "weakens those elements of the status quo which are favorable to the West while strengthening those favorable to the Soviet Union."

2005
Working Group on European Co-operation and Security, Oslo, Geneva, 1971. SOME INSTITUTIONAL SUGGESTIONS FOR A SYSTEM OF SECURITY AND CO-OPERATION IN EUROPE. Bulletin of peace proposals, v. 3, no. 1, 1972: [73]-[88]. JX1901.B83, v. 3

"A Rejoinder to Some Institutional Suggestions for a System of Security and Co-operation in Europe," by Jeanne Laux and Michael Palmer; "A note on reactions to PRIO's project concerning institutionalizing a system of security and co-operation in Europe," by Centre d'Études de Politique Étrangère, Paris; "Remarks on: Some Institutional Suggestions for a System of Security and Co-operation in Europe," by Pierre Hassner; Bulletin of Peace Proposals, v. 3, no. 2, 1972: 185-192. JX1901.B83, v. 3

English or French.

Contents.--Preface, by Johan Galtung.--Introduction.--Preparatory stage.--Goals and purposes.--General institutional principles.--Relations with the UN system.--Interim stage: the first conference and after.--Interim stage: an alternative image.--Contacts with non-governmental organizations.--Second stage.--Conclusion.--Appendix I: Examples of items for all-European security and co-operation.--Appendix II: Some further notes on a Security Commission for Europe.--Index.

Proposals for the convocation of a European security conference and the consolidation of principles of cooperation established in the aftermath. "The following stages in the process towards the establishment of a new system of security and co-operation in Europe may be distinguished: (i) preparatory stage, leading up to the first session of the proposed Conference, (ii) the Conference stage, (iii) the post-Conference, transitional or interim stage, and (iv) subsequent stages." The Working Group suggests a Preparatory Committee at the ambassadorial or deputy foreign minister level to design the agenda and organization of the conference. It envisions the ultimate development of a treaty organization for European security and cooperation headed by a Secretary-General and of a security commission for Europe to be the permanent organ of a periodically convened European security conference.

SPECIAL ENVIRONMENTS

2006
Ahluwalia, S. S. PEACEFUL USES OF THE SEA-BED. India quarterly, v. 27, Apr./June 1971: 149-152. D410.I44, v. 27

Examines three principal problems in devising a framework for the exploitation and exploration of the seabed and the ocean floor: the limits within which a new regime will be enforced, the machinery that will regulate the exploitation of the ocean, and the method of distributing the rights of exploration and exploitation. Ahluwalia contends that the developing countries would be adversely affected by exploitation of the oceans' resources. He concludes that it will be almost impossible for these countries to provide the financing that is required for development of the resources of the seabed and the ocean floor.

2007
Brown, Edward D. ARMS CONTROL IN HYDROSPACE: LEGAL ASPECTS. Washington, Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars, 1971. 131 p, (Oceans series 301) JX1974.7.B77

Includes bibliographical references.

"Earlier versions of parts of this paper have been published in Current Legal Problems and in the Proceedings of the Preparatory Conferences organized by the Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions for the Pacem in Maribus Conference, held in Malta in June-July, 1970."

Contents.--Foreword, by Gerard J. Mangone.--Abstract.--Preface.--Introduction.--pt. 1. International law and the military uses of hydrospace: The military significance of hydrospace. Twelve maritime zones.--pt. 2. Arms control in hydrospace: The earlier phase of the negotiations in the United Nations. The Treaty on the Prohibition of the Emplacement of Nuclear Weapons and Other Weapons of Mass Destruction on the Seabed and the Ocean Floor and in the Subsoil Thereof.--Appendix I: Text of Treaty on the Prohibition of the Emplacement of Nuclear Weapons and Other Weapons of Mass Destruction on the Seabed and the Ocean Floor and in the Subsoil Thereof.--Appendix II: Status of conventions relating to arms control and disarmament.--Table of treaties.--Table of General Assembly resolutions.--Table of cases.--Abbreviations.--Index of persons.--Subject index.

"Presents a detailed analysis of [the 1971 Seabed] Treaty against a background examination of the military significance of hydrospace and of the pre-existing rules of international law on the military use of hydrospace," defined as "that part of the globe which extends vertically downwards from the air/sea interface to include the bed and subsoil of the seas and horizontally from land outwards to include the deep oceans." Brown details the present state and future development of sea-based strategic weapons systems and delineates the rights and restrictions of states in twelve maritime zones--the water, seabed, and subsoil (vertical) environments of the national-water, territorial-sea, continental-shelf, and high-sea (horizontal) regions. He reviews the legal positions of the states in the 1967-1968 United Nations negotiations and surveys the implications and provisions of the Seabed Treaty. Brown concludes that the treaty will "perhaps facilitate not only further limited measures of sea-bed arms

control but the elaboration of a more comprehensive regime for the peaceful exploitation of the resources of this vast area."

2008
Law of the Sea Institute. THE LAW OF THE SEA: A NEW GENEVA CONFERENCE; PROCEEDINGS OF THE SIXTH ANNUAL CONFERENCE. . . the University of Rhode Island, Kingston. Edited by Lewis M. Alexander. Kingston, University of Rhode Island, 1972.
231 p. JX4408.L35
Sponsored by the Graduate School of Oceanography and the Dept. of Geography.
Includes bibliographical footnotes.

Partial contents.--The consequences of nonagreement.--Contents of the negotiations: The military role in the oceans and its relation to the law of the sea, by John A. Knauss.--The prospects for agreement.

Papers, commentaries, discussions, and panels dealing with issues of the law of the sea and the problems of their negotiation. Topics include military interests, fishery jurisdiction, mineral resources and offshore oil, and research needs. Special attention is given to machinery and strategies for reaching agreement.

2009
PEACEFUL USES OF OUTER SPACE. UN monthly chronicle, v. 8, Dec. 1971: 59-62.
JX1977.A1U564, v. 8

Reports on the November 11, 1971 U.N. First (Political and Security) Committee adoption of three draft resolutions on international cooperation in the peaceful uses of outer space and a draft resolution calling for an international treaty on the Moon to refine further the legal principles established in the 1967 Outer Space Treaty. The four measures were subsequently adopted by the General Assembly on November 29.

2010
U.S. Congress. Senate. Committee on Foreign Relations. SEABED ARMS CONTROL TREATY. Hearing, Ninety-second Congress, second session, on EX. H. 92-1 . . . January 27, 1972. Washington, U.S. Govt. Print. Off., 1972. 44 p.
KF26.F6 1972a
Supt. of Docs. no.: Y4.F76/2:Se1/2.

Testimony by Government officials and representatives of private groups in support of Senate ratification of the Seabed Treaty of 1971. Dr. Jeremy Stone of the Federation of American Scientists expresses reservations that while the treaty prohibits "emplacement" of weapons of mass destruction on the ocean floor it does not prohibit "stationing" navigable nuclear-armed vehicles permanently or temporarily on the ocean floor. The text of the treaty is appended.

2011
U.S. Library of Congress. Congressional Research Service. SOVIET SPACE PROGRAMS, 1966-70; GOALS AND PURPOSES, ORGANIZATION, RESOURCES, FACILITIES AND HARDWARE, MANNED AND UNMANNED FLIGHT PROGRAMS, BIOASTRONAUTICS, CIVIL AND MILITARY APPLICATIONS, PROJECTIONS OF FUTURE PLANS, ATTITUDES TOWARD INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION AND SPACE LAW. Staff report prepared for the use of the Committee on Aeronautical and Space Sciences, United States Senate, by the Science Policy Research Division and Foreign Affairs Division of the Congressional Research Service and the European Law Division of the Law Library, Library of Congress. Washington, U.S. Govt. Print. Off., 1971. xl, 670 p. illus.
DLC
At head of title: 92d Congress, 1st Session. Senate. Document No. 92-51.
Includes bibliographical references.

Partial contents.--Summary, by Charles S. Sheldon II.--Political goals and purposes of the U.S.S.R. in space, by Joseph G. Whelan.--Soviet military space activities, by Charles S. Sheldon II.--Projections of Soviet space plans, by Charles S. Sheldon II.--Soviet attitude toward international cooperation in space, by Joseph G. Whelan.--Soviet attitude toward law of outer space, by Domas Krivickas and Armins Rusis.--Postscript, by Charles S. Sheldon II.--Appendix C: Text of draft "InterSputnik" agreement.--Appendix F: Soviet-French cooperation in space, by K. L. Plummer.--Appendix I: Tass release of June 8, 1971, on draft Treaty for peaceful uses of the Moon.--Index.

Updates to 1970 previous reports published in 1962 and 1966 (the latter cited as item no. 392 in vol. 4, no. 1 of this bibliography) on the Soviet space program. Whelan analyses the domestic and international political uses of the Soviet effort, which, he says, "can be reduced essentially to one point, namely, to glorify the CPSU [Communist Party of the Soviet Union] and the Soviet state, and thus to magnify their power in pursuing the historically determined goals of Communism." Sheldon surveys military activities, including satellite reconnaissance, the fractional orbital bombardment system, and satellite destruction, and discusses possible future directions of the Soviet effort. Whelan sees Soviet cooperative international ventures expanding in the foreseeable future. Krivickas and Rusis outline the Soviet position on the 1967 Outer Space Treaty, the 1968 Astronaut Rescue-and-Return Agreement, and other issues and points of international space law. Sheldon's initial "Summary" abstracts the findings and conclusions of the complete study, and his "Postscript" discusses Soviet space activities in 1971.

ENFORCEMENT OF AGREEMENTS

2012
Conference on Civil Nuclear Power and International Security, University of Virginia, 1970. CIVIL NUCLEAR POWER AND INTERNATIONAL SECURITY. Edited by

Mason Willrich. New York, Praeger [1971] 124 p. (Praeger special studies in international politics and public affairs)

JX1974.7.C579 1970

Sponsored by the Center for the Study of Science, Technology and Public Policy, University of Virginia.

Partial contents.--The nature of the problem, by Mason Willrich. Analysis.--The military potential of civil nuclear power, by Victor Gilinsky: Fissile materials. Civilian nuclear fuel cycle. Diversion options. Analysis: Reactors. Nuclear materials. Chemical reprocessing. Uranium enrichment. Notes.--International safeguards, by Douglas E. George and Ralph F. Lumb: The international program. Right of access. Inspectors' obligations. Project and nonproject materials. Safeguards procedures. Consequences of inspection. Budget and manpower. Safeguards under the Non-Proliferation Treaty. Problem areas. Analysis: Rationale for safeguards. Time lag. Stockpiles. Normal losses. Political acceptance. Sanctions.--The international political context, by Leonard Beaton: Trends in civil nuclear power. The role of a civil nuclear program in acquiring a military option. Effects of various forms of options. The Non-Proliferation Treaty and the safeguards system. Nuclear options and programs in international life. Further considerations. Analysis: The utility of nuclear weapons. Political alternatives.

Assessment and evaluation of the international security problems that will arise in the 1970's through "the availability of very large amounts of fissionable materials in civil nuclear industries in a number of nations." Participants in the analyses include Achille Albonetti, Georgii A. Arbatov, William B. Bader, John T. Conway, Ryukichi Imai, Peter Jelinek, Myron B. Kratzer, Ashton J. O'Donnell, Jan Prawitz, Rudolf Rometsch, Marshall D. Shulman, Henry D. Smyth, Mullath A. Vellodi, and the authors cited in the contents note.

2013

Douglas, A., and others. ESTIMATING THE FIRING DEPTH OF UNDERGROUND EXPLOSIONS. Nature (London) v. 237, May 5, 1972: 26-27. illus.

Q1.N2, v. 237

Describes a new method of estimating the depth of underground nuclear explosions from the seismic record. The method shows promise as a means of discriminating nuclear explosions from earthquakes, since "only events that are very shallow could be explosions." It might also be used to spot "attempts to hide an underground test by firing a series of explosions to produce a signal that resembles an earthquake, in the way described by S. J. Lukasik in a statement to the Joint Congressional Committee on Atomic Energy on October 27, 1971."

2014

Ericsson, Ulf. IDENTIFICATION OF UNDERGROUND NUCLEAR EXPLOSIONS AND EARTHQUAKES. Stockholm, Försvarets forskningsanstalt, 1971. 8 p. (FOA reports, v. 5, no. 8)

DLC

Bibliography: p. 6-8.

The present report describes a series of investigations into the use of seismometric observations for the identification of underground explosions and earthquakes in the context of a treaty not to test nuclear weapons by underground explosions. Results of the investigations have been presented in five papers (I-V). Paper I describes how the application of decision theory to the discrimination problem provides a method for treaty control by deterrence and a tool for the numerical evaluation of discriminants. Paper II describes optimal methods for the estimation of explosion yields from body and surface wave magnitudes measured in a network of seismometric stations and their use in the construction of discriminants that are independent of the explosion yield. Paper III describes the estimation of a number of explosion yields, and Paper IV a fitting procedure useful for the construction of yield independent discriminants. In Paper V the methods and results obtained in Papers I, II, III and IV are applied to show, by examples, how the discriminants appear to be independent also of the strength of earthquakes, how confidence limits for the identification probabilities can be obtained, and how widely they range between different combinations of source area and monitoring network. (Abstract supplied)

2015

Filson, John, and Clint W. Frasier. MULTISITE ESTIMATION OF EXPLOSIVE SOURCE PARAMETERS. Journal of geophysical research, v. 77, Apr. 10, 1972: 2045-2061. illus.

QC811.J6, v. 77

Short-period *P* waves from five presumed explosions in eastern Kazakh with magnitudes m_b ranging from 5.3 to 5.7 are examined at five teleseismic arrays: Lasa, YKA, OONW, WRA, and GBA. Time domain transfer functions that convert the lower-magnitude events to the largest event at the individual sensors of each array are calculated. These filters show that the observed source radiation of each event is space stationary over the aperture of each array but varies from array to array. At the Large-Aperture Seismic Array (Lasa) these transfer functions qualitatively match theoretical transfer functions based on Blake's solution for the seismic radiation from a cavity excited by a step function in pressure, in which the cavity radius for each event is scaled according to the Lasa magnitude. When all the arrays are considered simultaneously, apparent anisotropic radiation is seen in two of the five events, where an amplitude variation up to a factor of 3 is observed between two array sites. Multisite estimation of the source parameters is attempted in the frequency domain, in which Haskell's explosion spectral model is fitted to each event spectrum after corrections for instrument response and attenuation are applied. At each array the attenua-

tion that allows the fitted parameters to vary as dictated by the model is chosen as correct. With attenuation estimated at each array, the spectra observed at all arrays for a single event are simultaneously fitted to the three parameters of Haskell's source model. For most arrays the individual and simultaneous fitting schemes yield reasonable values for the source parameters. The assumed source model and the estimated attenuation parameter for central Asia to Lasa apparently explain why the spectral ratio of high- to low-frequency energy in explosion sources increases as yield decreases. (Abstract supplied)

2016
Hasegawa, H. S. ANALYSIS OF AMPLITUDE SPECTRA OF *P* WAVES FROM EARTHQUAKES AND UNDERGROUND EXPLOSIONS. Journal of geophysical research, v. 77, June 10, 1972: 3081-3096. QC811.J6, v. 77

A step-by-step display of the theoretical *P*-wave amplitude spectrum of shallow (focal depth $\leq$ 40 km) earthquakes with m_b values ranging from 5.9 to 6.3 and underground explosions of comparable magnitudes as the signal propagates from source to receiver indicates that the factors most influential in shaping the respective spectra are the source crust transfer function, which includes the focal depth effect, and the source function. The results, although not unequivocal, favor a peak in the amplitude spectrum of the teleseismic *P* coda of earthquakes rather than a flat spectrum at low frequencies. The effect of focal depth appears to have more influence than the effect of source parameters on the peak frequency f_o in the spectra of earthquakes, whereas the source function is the important parameter for shallow underground nuclear explosions. For shallow seismic events of comparable m_b the f_o of earthquake spectra is smaller than the f_o of explosion spectra by approximately an order of magnitude. The pronounced minimum (hole) at about 0.1 Hz in the long-period spectrum of earthquakes is associated with the focal depth effect and can be identified for several events. However, theoretically predicted holes starting at about 0.5 Hz in the short-period spectrum of assumed unilateral faulting earthquakes are due to the extended source effect and are not identifiable on any of the experimental spectra. For short-period records of Longshot and Milrow, Haskell's analytic formulation of the Werth and Herbst displacement potential, in conjunction with the outlined theory, predicts fairly accurately the increase (approximately 0.15 sec) in the duration of the first half-cycle with increasing yield. For the corresponding long-period records of Milrow his formulation predicts a value smaller than a mean of the measured values by about 15% (0.32 sec). Haskell's equations, together with the rest of theory, appear to predict fairly accurately the variation in m_b with yield for these two events when amplitude measurements are restricted to the first half-cycle. (Abstract supplied)

2017
Taylor, John W. R. RECONNAISSANCE 1972. Royal Air Forces quarterly, v. 12, spring 1972: 7-14. illus. UG635.G7A1252, v. 12

Since the Soviet interception of the Powers U-2 overflight, military aircraft reconnaissance has been restricted to the peripheries of the great powers. Reconnaissance satellites have proven an effective means of information collection, and the fact that the Soviets have not interfered with U.S. reconnaissance spacecraft, despite their demonstrated counter-satellite capability, suggests that they recognize the proper role of mutual inspection in maintaining the strategic balance. A wide range of reconnaissance aircraft and spacecraft is in use today to penetrate enemy defenses, provide early warning, and direct fighter aircraft into combat. "The 'peace through fear' policy of the deterrent is giving way slowly to an Open Skies concept."

2018
U.S. Atomic Energy Commission. Nevada Operations Office. Peaceful Applications Division. PROJECT RULISON FINAL OPERATIONAL RADIOACTIVITY REPORT PRODUCTION TESTS. Feb. 1972. 71 p. illus.
Sci RR
Microfiche NV0-112

"This report was prepared by Dr. R. L. Gotchy of the Peaceful Applications Division . . ., Nevada Operations Office. . . ."

This report represents a summary of most of the significant radiological surveillance data generated during the Production Tests of Project Rulison, a nuclear gas stimulation experiment, detonated September 10, 1969, in Northwestern Colorado. It also includes data on the radiochemical and chemical quality of the Rulison gas during the tests and estimates of the quantities of ^{3}H, ^{85}Kr, ^{14}C and ^{203}Hg released to the atmosphere as a result of the tests. (Abstract supplied)

2019
Zile, Zigurds L., Robert Sharlet, and Jean C. Love. THE SOVIET LEGAL SYSTEM AND ARMS INSPECTION; A CASE STUDY IN POLICY IMPLEMENTATION. New York, Praeger [1972] xxxvi, 394 p. (Praeger special studies in international politics and public affairs) JX1974.7.Z5 1972

"An earlier version of this study was submitted as a research report to the United States Arms Control and Disarmament Agency in 1967 under the title 'Legal Aspects of Verification in the Soviet Union' (Washington: Report for the U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, 1967)," cited as item no. 1765 in v. 4, no. 4 of this bibliography.
Selected bibliographies: p. 319-385.

Contents.--pt. 1. The Soviet system: context for arms inspection: The Soviet system as a potential facilitator or obstructor of arms inspec-

tion. Prospects and problems of arms inspection in the Soviet Union. Trends relevant to arms inspection in the Soviet Union.--pt. 2. Legal problems connected with the presence of an arms inspectorate within Soviet territory: The ordinary status of foreign nationals and non-Soviet legal entities in the Soviet Union. Soviet attitudes toward privileges and immunities of foreign nationals and non-Soviet legal entities, including international organizations. Freedom of movement of personnel, records, equipment, and supplies. Methods and security of communications. Availability of physical facilities, supplies, and services. Display of symbols of non-Soviet authority. Claims and other disputes under Soviet law arising out of the presence and activities (including official functions) of the arms inspectorate. Legal assistance.--pt. 3. Legal problems directly relevant to the official functions of the arms inspectorate: Intrusiveness of arms inspection in the light of Soviet secrecy laws. Inspection by monitoring devices. Overflight photography. Observation by direct access. Interrogation and the obtaining of documentary and real evidence.--Conclusion.--Selected bibliographies. --Indexes.

Addresses itself to questions concerning "the feasibility of negotiating and executing an arms control agreement with the Soviet Union," along with provisions for verification by on-site inspection; how the Soviet system might work to facilitate or frustrate the agreement; and measures to assure pact performance taking into account the Soviet legal and political system. The authors recommend the creation of a "single Soviet agency to serve as official host for the [arms] inspectorate" to minimize the possibilities for friction and preclude the frustration of the arms agreement.

CONSEQUENCES OF ARMS CONTROL

2020
[FOURTEENTH PUGWASH SYMPOSIUM: ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL ASPECTS OF DISARMAMENT] Pugwash newsletter, v. 9, July 1971: 6-15. N&CPR
Leipzig, G.D.R., April 20-23, 1971

Contents.--Statement.--Participants.--Agenda.--List of papers submitted.--Summary of discussions.

Describes some of the problems considered by symposium participants who acknowledge that general and complete disarmament would entail some economic readjustment, but insist that "the importance of disarmament is dramatically underlined through the realization of the unacceptably high economic and social price of the continuation of the arms race." The participants also discussed the responsibilities of scientists and the economic impact of disarmament on science and research.

2021
Klein, Lawrence R. THE ROLE OF WAR IN THE MAINTENANCE OF AMERICAN ECONOMIC PROSPERITY. In American Philosophical Society. Proceedings, v. 115, Dec. 30, 1971: 507-516. illus.
Q11.P5, v. 115

Examines the relationship between war and economic activity in the United States in the twentieth century, speculates on the future of the post-Vietnam economy, and projects an econometric model of several disarmament and armament proposals to assess the chances for sustained prosperity after a Vietnam peace settlement. Once the stock market responded bullishly to rumors of war and bearishly to rumors of peace, but Klein asserts that now the stock market response is clearly the reverse and that the United States could enjoy growth and prosperity if the war were to end. Tables show the direct impact of wars on the U.S. economy since 1810 by measuring the percentage of the population under arms, the percentage of gross national product spent on defense, and the size of the public debt. Other tables illustrate the secondary economic implications of the war for production, employment, price level, stock market prices, and money supply in prewar, war, and postwar periods. Klein compares the economic impact of the Vietnam and Korean wars, pointing to the damage to the American economy caused by inflation, balance of payments difficulties, and general discontent caused by the war. Klein's model indicates that a "judiciously compensated disarmament can be carried out without a recession." He concludes that there would be no lasting benefit to the United States from a war of any size.

2022
PUGWASH CONTINUING COMMITTEE STATEMENT ON THE ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL CONSEQUENCES OF THE ARMS RACE AND MILITARY EXPENDITURE. Pugwash newsletter, v. 9, July 1971: 4-6. N&CPR

Explains the relationships among research, technology, and weaponry, emphasizing the inevitability of the exploration of "new fields of warfare." The committee can find no basis on which to justify arms spending, although it acknowledges that disarmament might call for some economic readjustment. There seems to be no plateau where weapons production can level off; the driving need to stay a step ahead of one's enemy is constant. Correlated with the arms buildup is the appearance of military governments which, by their nature, tend to view all other countries as potential enemies.

2023
Saltman, Juliet. THE ECONOMIC CONSEQUENCES OF DISARMAMENT. Peace research reviews, v. 4, Apr. 1972: 88 p. JX1901.P395
Includes notes and references.

Partial contents.--Preface.--Introduction.--World considerations.--Regional considerations.--Industrial and occupational considerations.--General summary and conclusions.

Chronological analysis of studies of the economic consequences of disarmament in terms of the three perspectives of world, regional, and specific industrial and occupational considerations. The general conclusion of these reports and analyses "is that the economic problems of disarmament can be met successfully, provided that sufficient advance planning for conversion takes place." Saltman contends that in this way not only can economic disaster be averted but that an unprecedented economic growth could begin on a national and international scale. She concludes that although disarmament could result in great benefits to all nations, there is no institutional framework within which planning can be developed to pave the way for such benefits.

2024
[WAR THROUGH ITS PREVENTION? THE POLITICAL EVIDENCE OF THE WEIZSÄCKER STUDY ON THE "CONSEQUENCES AND PREVENTION OF WAR"] Durch Kriegsverhütung zum Krieg? Die politischen Aussagen der Weizsäcker-Studie "Kriegsfolgen und Kriegsverhütung" [von] Horst Afheldt [et al. München] C. Hanser [c1972] 178 p. (Reihe Hanser, 79)
JX1963.D85
Includes bibliographical references.

Contents.--pt. 1. War through its prevention? by Horst Afheldt, Utz-Peter Reich, Philipp Sonntag, Carl Friedrich von Weizsäcker: War through its prevention? Propositions. Consequences. Three negative utopias. Dynamics and development of deterrence. Consequences of a nuclear war in the FRG. Help for the civilian population.--pt. 2. The absurd strategy, by Christian Potyka: Pfuel miscarries in Vietnam. The "acceleration of man." Strategy of change.

Claims that the current means of preventing war may actually facilitate its onset through destabilization of the balance of military deterrence by the arms race and technological advances. Developing Weizsäcker's theme in Kriegsfolgen und Kriegsverhütung (cited as item no. 1656 in vol. 7, no. 4 of this bibliography), the authors of part one discuss its technical results and its political consequences. The nuclear deterrent system, which is supposed to maintain peace by armament, lets West Germany make its arms decisions a component of its foreign policy, whereas first priority should be a politically-secured peace. Christian Potyka "analyzes the development and state of the international strategic discussion against the background of the conclusions to which the authors of the first part have come", using Karl Pfuel as the prototype of military doctrinaires.

OTHER PROBLEMS AND MEASURES

2025
Avneri, Uri. FIGHTING FOR PEACE: THE SILENT MINORITY. New Middle East, nos. 42/43, Mar./Apr. 1972: 21-22. illus. DS63.1.N48, 1972

Outlines the loose federation of components that form the peace movement in Israel. At present about five percent of Israel's voters are part of the active peace movement, but Avneri believes there are many passive peace sympathizers who could become increasingly influential if there were signs of change in the political atmosphere. He voices his hope that the Bologna Conference to be held in Italy in late 1972 will "create the basis for a real dialogue between the Arab and Israeli peace movements, strengthening both and enabling them to exert real influence on the policies of their countries."

2026
Du Boff, Richard B. CONVERTING MILITARY SPENDING TO SOCIAL WELFARE: THE REAL OBSTACLES. Quarterly review of economics and business, v. 12, spring 1972: 7-22. HC10.Q33, v. 12

Conventional economics treats the issue of disarmament or substantial cutbacks in military spending as a problem of macroeconomic adjustment. Political factors are taken as "given" or as obstacles that could be overcome through rational public discourse. This approach is misleading, from a theoretical and practical viewpoint. Any serious alternatives to arms spending would be far less profitable for certain special interest groups. Since those who benefit most from military spending are associated with large-scale business, and since large-scale business constitutes the dominant sociopolitical class in the US, substantial cutbacks in military outlays appear to be impossible without radical political and social change. (Abstract supplied)

2027
Eckhardt, William. THE MILITARY-INDUSTRIAL PERSONALITY. Journal of contemporary revolutions, v. 3, fall 1971: 74-87. illus.
N&CPR

Outlines the distinctive characteristics of the war and peace personalities, including the Fascist personality, in order to describe the military-industrial personality. Eckhardt reviews two methods of studying war and peace personalities and the results of several direct studies of actual and potential military personnel and engineers in the military-industrial complex and of several indirect studies involving development of a scale of militarism. He finds a high correlation between militarism and the affective, behavioral, cognitive and ideological variables of both the Fascist and military-industrial personalities. He thinks that the military-industrial personality is not properly developed and has little creative imagination. "Mentally ill (in a socially acceptable way), sexually inadequate, anti-intellectual (but not necessarily low in intelligence), and morally dependent upon bureaucratic laws and orders . . ., the military-industrial personality goes about polluting the earth, causing poverty, promoting prejudice, and making war inevitable." Noting that certain undesirable traits originate in

faulty childhood discipline, Eckhardt urges development of more socially responsible adults and attention to Eisenhower's warning against "the disastrous rise of misplaced power" in the hands of the military-industrial complex.

2028
El Paso Natural Gas Company. PROJECT WAGON WHEEL. TECHNICAL STUDIES REPORT. El Paso, Tex., El Paso Natural Gas Company, 1971. illus.
DLC

Preliminary technical studies for Project Wagon Wheel, "a joint effort between El Paso Natural Gas Company and the Federal Government of the United States of America to further develop the use of underground nuclear explosions to stimulate low permeability natural gas reservoirs." Wagon Wheel is to be a followup to Project Gasbuggy, an engineering feasibility study conducted in 1967. Unlike Gasbuggy, Wagon Wheel will explore economic as well as technical questions, and should be "a major step in determining whether nuclear explosive stimulation provides a practical means of producing natural gas from the low permeability gas reservoirs of the Pinedale Unit in particular and the Rocky Mountain region in general."

2029
Garwin, Richard L. ANTISUBMARINE WARFARE AND NATIONAL SECURITY. Scientific American, v. 227, July 1972: 14-25. illus.
T1.S5, v. 227

Appraises the difficulties and current state of antisubmarine warfare (ASW), noting its potential for destabilizing the Soviet-American deterrent balance by reducing the immunity of their strategic submarine forces to attack. While ASW technology remains relatively ineffective, argues Garwin, "nevertheless, given the importance of the submarine-based deterrent, it is not too early to examine the feasibility of arms-control limitations on possible methods of antisubmarine warfare that might eventually threaten the survivability of missile-launching submarines." To this end, Garwin suggests several measures, based on the principle of mutual recognition of the importance of preserving the two forces in peacetime as well as in conflicts short of total nuclear war. For the peacetime context, he proposes a prohibition on the production and deployment of ASW forces capable of rapidly eliminating a submarine deterrent, supplemented by a prohibition against tracking strategic submarines and the creation of large ocean sanctuary areas. For conventional war, Garwin suggests a limited number of safe conducts for strategic submarines through minefields or other barriers, thereby permitting active tactical ASW without endangering an opponent's strategic force.

2030
Gotchy, R. L. PROJECT RULISON FINAL OPERATIONAL RADIOACTIVITY REPORT [ON THE] PRODUCTION TESTS. (Nevada Operations Office, Las Vegas. Peaceful Applications Div.) Feb. 1972. 74 p. illus.
Sci RR
Microfiche NVO-112

This report represents a summary of most of the significant radiological surveillance data generated during the Production Tests of Project Rulison, a nuclear gas stimulation experiment, detonated September 10, 1969, in Northwestern Colorado. It also includes data on the radiochemical and chemical quality of the Rulison gas during the tests and estimates of the quantities of ^{3}H, ^{85}Kr, ^{14}C and ^{203}Hg released to the atmosphere as a result of the tests. (Abstract supplied)

2031
Skolnikoff, Eugene B. SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY: THE IMPLICATIONS FOR INTERNATIONAL INSTITUTIONS. International organization, v. 25, autumn 1971: 759-775.
JX1901.I55, v. 25

"The material for much of this article is drawn from The International Imperatives of Technology (Berkeley: Institute of International Studies, University of California, forthcoming)."

Surveys the effects of the development and application of technology on international affairs in order to identify future trends. Skolnikoff points out that nuclear weapons were once expected to bring about major alterations in international relations by negating war as a policy alternative. In practice nuclear power has become "an umbrella under which more traditional or conventional warfare flourishes between states." Thus, Skolnikoff does not anticipate any radical revisions of the international scene as a result of technological applications. However, he emphasizes the need for more effective international organization and machinery to regulate and control technological practices.

AUTHOR INDEX

[Numbers refer to entries.]

A

Abbass, Abdul M., 356
Abendroth, W., 642
Abosch, Heinz, 46, 1070
Abramowitz, Morton, 661
Abu-Jaber, Faiz S., 1071
Abu-Lughod, Ibrahim, 696
Abu-Lughod, Janet L., 696
Academy for Interscience Methodology, 489
Acheson, Dean, 1456
Aćimović, Ljubivoje, 1981
Ackland, Len E., 843
Ackley, Richard T., 866
Adam, Philip A. G., 1870
Adam, Werner, 144
Adams, Benson D., 1229
Adie, W. A. C., 1689
Afheldt, Horst, 919, 2024
Ago, Roberto, 357
Agwani, M. S., 696
Ahluwalia, S. S., 2006
Ahmad, Eqbal, 186, 712
Ahmed, Khalid, 1571
Aichi, Kiichi, 599, 1072
Ajami, Fouad, 1587
Albert, Ernst, 548
Albrecht, Ulrich, 941
Alcock, Norman Z., 877
Aleksandrov, I., 145
Aleksandrov, L., 431
Alexander, Lewis M., 482, 2008
Alexander, Raymond P., 1374
Alexander, Yonah, 702, 1011
Alger, Chadwick F., 1881
Ali, Mehrunnisa, 158, 1571
Aliano, Richard A., 1315
Alker, Hayward R., 1881
Alker, Henry A., 1
Allard, Sven, 964
Allardt, Erik, 535
Alligood, Arlene, 1625
Allport, Gordon W., 532, 911
Almersleben, Busso von, 454
Almond, Gabriel A., 1372
Alopaeus, Simone, 1487
Alperovitz, Gar, 1909
Alten, Jürgen von, 549
Alting Von Geusau, Frans A. M., 268
Altmann, Rüdiger, 1073
Alvarado, Juan V., 1289
Amirsadeghi, Hossein, 550
Amrehn, Franz, 594
Amsberg, Claus von, Prins der Nederlanden, 1575
Anand, J. P., 1166, 2001
Anand, Mulk R., 217
Anand, R. P., 1067, 1372
al-Anani, Isam, 167
Andel, C. Pieter van, 393
Anders, Peter, pseud., 479
Anderson, Clinton P., 1523
Anderson, Forrest P., 1542
Anderson, James R., 842
Andrassy, Juraj, 1529
Andreasian, R., 2
Andren, Nils, 1043
Angell, Robert C., 356, 1881
Anglin, F. M., 486
Anspaugh, L., 1217
Ansprenger, Franz, 787
Apalin, G., 1075
Appadorai, A., 1076, 1464
Apple, R. W., 1077
Appleton, George, 1011
Arafat, Yasser, 1732
Arangio-Ruiz, Gaetano, 1529
Arbatov, G. A., 47, 1078, 1672
Archer, D. H. R., 1746
Arkadev, N., 417, 920, 1915, 1960
Arnett, Peter, 1444
Art, Robert J., 1844
Arvidson, Stellan, 642
Asakai, Koichiro, 599
Ashford, Theodore A., 342
Ashkar, Riad, 190
Aspaturian, Vernon V., 1851
Atkey, Ronald G., 565
Atomic Bomb Casualty Commission, 1316
Audi, Robert, 42
Auer, James E., 1230
Auer, Paul de, 1484
August, Friedrich, 1862
Austin, Anthony, 750
Australia. National Radiation Advisory Committee, 826
Autorenkollektiv des Deutschen Instituts für Militärgeschichte und der Militärakademie Friedrich Engels, 1238
Avneri, Uri, 2025
Ayoob, Mohammed, 663, 1067

B

Bach, Pham Van, 1471
Badeau, John S., 586
Bader, William B., 1361, 1459
Badgley, John, 965
Baechler, Jean, 712
Baer, Daniel J., 231
Baez, Joan, 388
Bailey, Norman A., 552
Bailey, Sydney D., 147, 1436, 1460, 1884
Bain, Henry, 506
Baker, Richard D., 981
Baker, Sam, 327, 480
Bakun, William H., 1531
Baldwin, David A., 507, 662, 1554
Baldwin, Hanson W., 148, 751
Ballis, William, 356
Balluseck, Daniel J. von, 1575
Bandura, Albert, 1595
Banfi, Arialdo, 642
Banks, Arthur S., 1555
Baran, Paul A., 1132
Barber, Benjamin R., 906
Barber, James A., 752
Barclay, Cyril N., 218, 1765
Bardin, Bogdan, 455
Barham, Ahmed, 167
Bark, Dennis L., 553
Barkan, Robert, 1738
Barker, Elisabeth, 1614
Barnaby, C. Frank, 1948
Barnds, William J., 149
Barnes, Robert A., 1625
Barnet, Richard J., 48, 586, 827, 1361
Barnett, A. Doak, 49, 649, 1079, 1615
Barnett, Frank R., 753, 788, 1310
Barnett, Marion, 838
Barnett, Robert W., 508, 1080, 1102
Baroch, Charles T., 50
Barrett, Raymond J., 1416, 1766
Barsegov, E., 703
Barston, Ronald P., 1586, 1690, 1885, 1951
Barth, Delbert S., 828
Barth, Zeev, 1167
Barton, C. J., 1016
Basham, P. W., 492
Baskin, Samuel J., 382
Bastid, Suzanne B., 868
Bastine, Reiner, 1595
Battat, Morris E., 846
Bauer, Frieda, 709
Bauer, Leo, 1046
Baumann, Gerhard, 1231
Baumel, Jacques, 1616
Bayandor, Darioush, 1949

Bayley, J. C. R., 1901
Bayo Giroud, Alberto, 1732
Bazelon, David T., 754
Beadle, Vi A., 1581
Bean, Alan L., 1353
Beaton, Leonard, 1025, 2012
Beaufre, André, 3, 1556
Bebler, Aleš, 435
Bechtoldt, Heinrich, 4, 150, 456, 554, 1026, 1485, 1617
Beck, Bernard, 1813
Becker, Benjamin M., 404
Beckett, J. C., 528
Beebe, Gilbert W., 1317, 1838
Beecher, William, 755, 1168
Beer, Francis A., 898
Beer, Karl W., 499
Begg, H. M., 528
Beglov, S. I., 577
Beglow, Spartak, 1767
Behrmann, L.-R., 867
Belfiglio, Valentine J., 878
Bell, Coral, 1598
Bell, Daniel, 535
Bell, J. Bowyer, 1727-1728
Bellany, Ian, 767, 948, 1598, 1966
Beller, D. C., 535
Belschner, Wilfried, 909
Bender, Hans, 716
Benedict, Donald, 388
Benjamin, Roger W., 555
Benoit, Emile, 1839
Berchtold, Walter, 1465
Berg, Meredith W., 1409
Bergatt, Barbara, 787
Berger, Howard M., 794
Berger, Roland, 556
Berger, Rolf, 967
Bergeron, Gérard, 1557
Bergh, Godfried van Benthem van den, 1901
Bergner, Dieter, 509
Bergsten, C. Fred, 510
Berindranath, Dewan, 663
Berkenkopf, Galina, 51
Berkowitz, Leonard, 1595
Berner, T. Roland, 879
Bertram, Christoph, 1982
Besser, Joachim, 1768
Besson, Waldemar, 1043
Best, W. J., 994
Bethill, Charles D., 1950
Bettini, Emilio, 1529
Beutenmüller, Jörg, 1840
Bex, John E., 219
Bialek, Adelaide E., 497
Bien, George S., 1337
Bienen, Henry, 1318
Bildungswerk Europäische Politik, 457
Bindschedler-Robert, Denise, 344
Birnbaum, Karl E., 52, 1053, 1951
Birrenbach, Kurt, 53, 558
Bitensky, Reuben, 338
Bixenstine, V. Edwin, 511
Bjøl, Erling, 1586
Black, Cyril E., 1361-1362, 1459, 1470, 1671
Black, Stuart C., 828
Blackman, Raymond V. B., 1745
Blainey, Geoffrey, 704
Blamey, C., 2013
Blank, W. J., 54
Bletz, Donald F., 311, 1769
Bloch, Charles, 1907
Bloomfield, Lincoln P., 1884, 1886
Blumberg, Avrom A., 921
Blumenwitz, Dieter, 1363
Boardman, Robert, 55
Boasson, Charles, 1901
Boeck, Klaus, 1319
Böhm, Anton, 1375
Böhme, Gernot, 1510
Böll, Heinrich, 1014
Böttcher, Winfried, 1572
Bogdanov, O., 869
Bollens, John C., 1874
Bondurant, Joan V., 512
Bonham, G. Matthew, 1417
Bonner, Joey, 1618
Bonoma, Thomas V., 542
Bonsdorff, Göran von, 56
Booth, K., 220
Bopp, Eberhard, 1169
Borch, Herbert von, 1081, 1320
Borgese, Elisabeth M., 1376
Borosage, Robert, 327
Borowik, Genrich, 421
Borrie, W. D., 1553
Bos, Maarten, 1575
Boserup, Anders, 1901
Bosgra, S. J., 1939
Boskma, Peter, 1901
Bota, L., 867
Bothe, Michael, 1862
Bothwell, Robert, 1619
Bottini, Renaud de, 1880
Bottome, Edgar M., 436, 1418
Bouc, Alain, 1620
Bouchez, Leo J., 1529
Boulding, Kenneth E., 586, 911, 1816, 1901, 1906
Bourne, Peter G., 1059
Bowen, Vaughan T., 1337, 1841
Bowett, D. W., 1894
Bowett, Derek, 1861
Bowles, Chester, 829
Bowman, C. R., 1016
Boyd, Andrew K. H., 358
Boyd, James M., 378
Boyd, Mary, 505
Bradford, Zeb B., 1232, 1770-1771
Braganza, A. J., 191
Brain, Paul F., 513
Braisted, William R., 1908
Bramson, Leon, 1813
Brandt, Willy, 57-58, 559-560, 594, 1082-1084, 1249
Branfman, Fred, 192
Braun, Dieter, 717
Braun, Ursula, 1691
Brecher, Michael, 1621
Bredow, Wilfried von, 88, 830
Brennan, Donald G., 405, 1529, 1816
Brenner, Hans, 1748
Brenner, Michael J., 1233
Brewster, Kingman, 1027
Breyer, Siegfried, 718, 1740
Brezhnev, Leonid, 437
Briessen, Fritz van, 59
Briggs, G. R., 1016
Brock, Peter, 893
Brock, William E., 1967
Brodie, Bernard, 515, 1196, 1372
Brodine, Virginia, 1234
Broecker, Wallace S., 1337
Broekmeijer, M. W. J. M., 459
Bröll, Werner, 514
Bronson, F. H., 1059
Brookner, Eli, 1321
Brosio, Manlio, 221
Brown, Bruce, 505, 1122
Brown, Edward D., 1529, 2007
Brown, Frederic J., 1770-1771
Brown, George S., 1760
Brown, John M., 1916
Brown, Neville, 757, 1028, 1257, 1772, 1779
Brown, Robert C., 542
Brown, Sanborn C., 312
Brucan, Silviu, 1029
Brundtland, Arne O., 1586, 1951
Brzezinski, Zbigniew K., 60, 128, 561, 1102, 1456, 1574, 1622
Bu, Peter, 222
Buckley, James L., 223, 758
Buehrig, Edward H., 1372
Bueler, William M., 1623
Bull, Hedley, 505, 955, 1397, 1582, 1598
Bullock, Alan, 5
Bundy, William P., 453
Burchett, Wilfred, 1444
Burke, Arleigh, 767, 1781
Burke, John C., 1841
Burke, William T., 1362, 1522
Burnell, Bates C., 719
Burns, Arthur F., 842
Burns, Arthur L., 29, 767, 1598
Burns, E. L. M., 1431
Burns, Richard Dean, 401, 1410, 1419
Burrack, Dieter, 1086
Burton, John W., 1936
Bury, Leslie, 562
Busch, Peter A., 1853
Bush, George, 1472
Butler, William E., 343
Butterfield, Fox, 1339
Butwell, Richard, 540, 563
Byrne, Gary C., 968

C

Cade, Joseph A., 1322, 1353
Caflisch, Lucius, 344
Calder, Nigel, 1200
Caldwell, Malcolm, 1235
Calian, Carnegie S., 1398
Calleo, David P., 968
Calzini, Paolo, 1487
Cameron, Neil, 1773
Camilleri, J. A., 40
Campbell, John C., 61, 151
Campbell, John F., 564
Camponeschi, A., 1994
Camps, Miriam, 1486
Canada. Dept. of External Affairs, 922
Carell, Paul, 1774
Carey, James C., 1728
Carey, John, 1367, 1871
Carlos da Silva Muricy, Antonio, 1842
Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 1030
Carney, Joseph P., 1087
Caron, Gerald C., 1236
Carpenter, Stanley R., 1558
Carta, Jerusalem, 1692
Carter, April, 383
Case, Clifford P., 1532
Casper, Max, 338
Castellan, Georges, 528
Castle, L. V., 505, 1122
Castro, Josué de, 1069
Cattani, Alfred, 6, 1559
Caywood, Thomas E., 794
Cecil, R., 1088
Centre d'Études de Politique Étrangère, Paris, 2005
Červenka, Zdenek, 1940
Chace, James, 1624
Chain, Sir Ernst, 832
Chakravarti, Prithwis C., 1693
Chalfont, Arthur Gwynne Jones, baron, 1377
Chang, Wei-ya, 62
Chao, Chia, 759
Chapman, George, 224
Charvin, R., 642
Chatfield, Charles, 402, 1913
Chatterjee, Partha, 1560
Chauvel, Jean, 1089
Cheever, Daniel S., 372
Chen, Chu, 1395, 1437-1438, 1544
Chen, Lung-chu, 152
Cheney, John, 1561
Cherednichenko, M., 187
Chiao, Kuan-hua, 923, 1090
Childers, Erskine B., 696
Childs, David, 63
Chipembere, Henry B. M., 1727
Chkhikvadze, V., 869
Cho, M. Y., 1091
Chomsky, Noam, 843, 850, 1132, 1235
Chopra, Maharaj K., 567, 760
Chopra, Pran, 154, 663
Choucri, Nazli M., 515
Christie, Michael J., 425
Christol, Carl Q., 1871
Christy, Francis T., 1529
Chu, Pao-chin, 1728
Cimbala, Stephen J., 226
Clarey, Bernard A., 1775
Clark, John J., 1843
Clark, Joseph, 568
Clarke, C. F. O., 1706
Clarke, Robin, 1724
Claude, Inis L., 29, 356, 880 911, 1884
Clausen, Christian, 1887
Clemens, Walter C., 969, 1053, 1420
Clendenen, Clarence C., 1728
Cleveland, Harlan, 881
Clough, Ralph N., 66, 505
Clubb, O. Edmund, 67, 1170
Coates, Charles H., 793
Cocca, Aldo A., 985
Cochrane, James D., 474
Cockram, Ben, 1776
Coffey, Joseph I., 761-762, 1477, 1952
Cohen, Irvine, 227
Cohen, J., 532
Cohen, Jerome A., 68, 1883
Cohen, Marshall, 850
Cohen, Samuel T., 228
Colot, Louis, 1487
Columbia University. Southern Asian Institute/East Asian Institute, 458
Commission to Study the Organization of Peace, 1871
Committee for Environmental Information. Nuclear Weapons Subcommittee, 193
Committee on Society, Development and Peace, 1896
Commoner, Barry, 342
Compton, James V., 1909
Conference on Civil Nuclear Power and International Security, University of Virginia (1970), 2012
Conference on Contemporary Problems of the Law of Armed Conflicts, Geneva (1969), 344
Conference on Peaceful Change in Modern Society, Stanford University (1969), 1895
Congressional Quarterly, inc., 1625
Connell, Lewis E., 763
Conner, Robert L., 1031
Conroy, R. Hilary, 1895
Consultation on Christian Concern for Peace, Baden (1970), 1896
Converse, Philip E., 329
Cook, Blanche W., 1913
Cook, Fred J., 1461
Cook, Jerry E., 1526
Cooney, John, 793
Cooper, Chester L., 570
Cooper, John Sherman, 1157
Coplin, William D., 515, 586, 1032, 1201
Corbett, Percy E., 356, 1372
Corbin, Doris, 1590
Corbishley, D. J., 490, 2013
Cordes, Harry N., 229
Cordier, Andrew W., 1865, 1949-1950, 1959, 2004
Correll, John T., 764
Coser, Lewis A., 911
Cot, Jean-Pierre, 1936
Cottam, Richard, 696
Coudenhove-Kalergi, Richard N., Graf von, 459
Couderc, Paul, 1353
Cousins, Norman, 516
Crandall, W. K., 988
Craven, John P., 1529
Crawford, T. V., 988
Creyghton, J. H. C., 1069
Critchley, Julian, 1779
Croan, Melvin, 1278, 1909
Crockett, William J., 1708
Cromer, George R. S. B., 3rd Earl of, 1961
Cross, F. T., 1299
Crowley, Barbara K., 993
Csizmas, Michael, 1777
Cuéllar, Oscar, 1289
Culkowski, W. M., 1016
Cummins, Ian, 40
Curtis, Michael, 155
Cuthbert, Ronald, 705
Cviic, K. F., 1092
Cycon, Dieter, 69
Czempiel, Ernst-Otto, 1093
Czernetz, Karl, 517

D

Dadrian, Vahakn N., 1033
Dahlman, O., 487
Daillier, Pierre, 1983
Dalma, Alfons, 1562
Daly, Richard, 342
Daniels, Jeff, 1202
Daniker, Gustav, 1778
Dann, Hanns-Dietrich, 1595
Dar, E. H., 1239
Davies, Merton E., 1533
Davis, Kenneth S., 313
Davison, Michael S., 1253
Day, W. C., 748
Dayan, Moshe, 664
Dean, Vera M., 1067
Debenedetti, Charles, 1913
Debré, Michel, 1626
De La Mater, Stephen T., 1741
Delcoigne, Georges, 427
Delgado, J. M. R., 1059
Delmas, Claude, 518, 1411
DeLong, Edward K., 225
Dembo, M. M., 732
Dencik, Lars, 910, 1901
Dengerink, H. A., 1563
Denielou, Guy, 726

Denker, Rolf, 8
Denoon, David B. H., 540
Denzer, Susanne, 1595
Derriennic, Jean-Pierre, 894, 1041
Desjardins, C., 1059
Destler, I. M., 572
Deuerlein, Ernst, 1627
Deumlich, Gerd, 1628
Deutsch, Karl W., 356, 910, 1057, 1372
Deutsch, Morton, 911
Deutsche Gesellschaft für Völkerrecht, 1862
Devillers, Philippe, 1041
Dhokalia, R. P., 1863
Diallo-Tayiré, Alpha A., 1872
Diamond, Robert A., 1625, 1727
Dickey, D. D., 720
Dickmann, Fritz, 1864
Dicks, Henry V., 532, 1886
Dickson, Paul, 1323
Dickson, Thomas I., 833
Dietterich, Paul, 882
Dinerstein, Herbert S., 515
Divale, William T., 1192, 1725
Divine, Robert A., 156, 1913
Djerdja, Josip, 460, 933
Dmitriev, B., 573
Dmitriev, E., 70
Dobell, Peter C., 565, 1053
Dobrynin, Anatoliy F., 1961
Doctor, Adi H., 1466
Dodd, Norman L., 230
Dodge, Norton T., 1074
Doernberg, Stefan, 979
D'Ombrain, Nicholas J., 9
Domes, Juergen, 1102
Dommen, Arthur J., 540, 1937
Donelan, Michael D., 895, 1551
Donnelly, C. L., 231
Doob, Leonard W., 1708
Doran, Charles F., 1545
Dorfman, Robert, 663, 1839
Dormann, Manfred, 10
Dorn, Jürgen, 1780
Dorsey, Gray L., 1364
Doty, Paul, 500
Dougall, Lucy, 384
Dougherty, James E., 406, 438
Douglas, A., 490, 997, 2013
Douglas-Home, Sir Alec, 1489
Dowd, Douglas F., 314
Dower, John W., 1655
Dowty, Alan, 1564
Drachovitch, Milorad M., 232
Draper, G. I. A. D., 1365
Draper, Theodore, 843
Dregger, Alfred, 594
Driver, Tom F., 388
Drost, Bruce A., 11, 1577
Drouin, Patrice, 1034
Druckman, Daniel, 1565
Drysdale, Peter, 767
Dubnic, Vladimir Reisky de, 12
Du Boff, Richard B., 2026
Duchêne, François, 233, 268, 1490, 1575, 1582
Duclos, Louis-Jean, 1041
Dürr, Otto, 1546
Duff, Peggy, 1910
Duhul, Yousuf Jama Ali, 1708
Duncan, W. Raymond, 574
Duncanson, Dennis J., 157, 540
Dupuy, Réne-Jean, 1880
Durante, Francesco, 1529
Dutt, Gargi, 1067
Dutt, V. P., 663, 1102
Dyson, Freeman J., 924
Dzialas, Rudolf, 956

E

E., P. A., 942
Eagleton, Thomas F., 1629
Ebert, Theodor, 1057
Ebstein, Bonnie S., 897
Eckardt, A. Roy, 665
Eckhardt, William, 591, 1399, 1897, 2027
Eckert, Jochen, 1595
Edelsberg, Herman, 1171
Eden, Anthony, Earl of Avon, 1895
Edinger, Lewis J., 555
Edmonds, C. J., 528
Edmonds, Martin, 1728, 1941
Edwards, James B., 461
Eek, Hilding, 1586
Eide, Asbjørn, 1491
Einstein, Albert, 342
Elble, Rolf, 234
Eleftheriou, Basil E., 1059
Elkordy, Abdul-Hafez M., 159
Eller, Ernest M., 1781
Elliot, R. S. P., 1694
Elliott, James D., 765
Ellsberg, Daniel, 575, 1655
Ellsworth, Robert F., 1787
El Paso Natural Gas Company, 2028
Emerson, Rupert, 345
Emery, Kenneth O., 1529
Enaboro, Peter, 1726
End, Heinrich, 1172
Engdahl, E. R., 194
Engel, Joseph H., 794
Engel, Ronald E., 828
Enos, J. L., 1035
Enström, Peter, 1901
Epstein, William, 1412
Eran, Oded, 1173
Erickson, John, 1439, 1783
Ericsson, Ulf, 2014
Ernst, Alfred, 1784
Eron, Leonard D., 13, 1566
Erven, L., 871
Eshete, Andreas, 1708
Etheredge, Lloyd, 235
Etzioni, Amitai, 911, 981
Euler, Harald E., 1595
Evensen, Jens, 1529
Evernden, J. F., 994
Evron, Yair, 1174
Eysenck, H. J., 532

F

FCA [Forschungsdienst China-Archiv], 112, 368, 581, 947, 1098-1100, 1242, 1695-1696
Fabian, Larry L., 359, 898
Fabritzek, Uwe G., 1095, 1630
Fairhall, David, 721
Falk, Richard A., 850, 891, 896, 1069, 1324, 1361-1362, 1372, 1421, 1459, 1468, 1470, 1522, 1530, 1655
Fannon, Peter M., 578
Farer, Tom J., 1361
Farley, Philip J., 501, 1008
Farlow, Robert L., 1096
Farrar, L. L., 1567
Farrell, Thomas F., 342
Faruki, Kamal A., 158
Fatmi, Tariq, 1571
Fawcett, Jan, 14
Fedder, Edwin H., 1881
Federal Substitute Service Headquarters, 1014
Federation of American Scientists. Ad Hoc Committee on Military R&D, 195
Feis, Herbert, 645
Feiveson, Harold, 1361, 1421
Fejtö, François, 1053
Feld, Bernard T., 925, 1919, 1922
Feld, Werner, 898, 1378
Fendrich, James, 793
Feodosiev, V., 1953
Ferber, Christian von, 385
Ferguson, Charles K., 1708
Fernau, Friedrich-Wilhelm, 579
Ferrell, Robert H., 1851
Feuer, Lewis S., 580
Figgess, Sir John, 1240
Filson, John, 2015
Finan, James S., 957
Finch, Roy, 512
Fink, Clinton F., 356
Finkelhor, David, 325
Finkelstein, Lawrence S., 512
Fîntînaru, Ion, 418
Fircks, Otto, Freiherr von, 71
Fischer, Georges, 1954
Fisher, Margaret W., 512
Fisher, Roger, 512, 1871
Fisher, Ronald J., 1568
FitzGerald, C. P., 40, 1102, 1598
Fleckenstein, Bernhard, 835
Fleming, Denna F., 1132, 1631, 1909
Fleming, Edward H., 1203
Fleron, Frederick J., 591
Fletcher, James, 1321
Flint, Ronald A., 520
Flohr, Heiner, 1632
Florin, Peter, 15
Flugel, J. C., 532
Foch, René, 970
Foland, Frances M., 1097, 1785
Foley, Charles, 1241

Folin, J. de, 1997
Folsom, Theodore R., 1337
Foltz, William J., 1708
Forman, William H., 872
Forndran, Erhard, 1440
Forschungsdienst China-Archiv. See FCA [Forschungsdienst China-Archiv]
Forsythe, David P., 160, 1101, 1888
Foster, William C., 1012
Fouquet, David, 1727
Fox, Annette Baker, 1586, 1951
Fox, Douglas M., 236
Fox, William T. R., 356, 1372
Franck, Thomas M., 1243
Frank, Paul, 1493
Frankel, Theodore, 1102
Franz, Herbert, 196
Frasier, Clint W., 2015
Frei, Daniel, 521, 1487, 1901
Frei Montalva, Eduardo, 666
Freistetter, Franz, 1013
Freymond, Jacques, 1586, 1898
Fried, Edward R., 1278
Fried, John, 875
Friedel, Alois, 1103
Friedheim, Robert L., 29
Friedland, Claire, 857
Friedman, Edward, 1102
Friedmann, Herbert, 1196
Friedmann, Wolfgang, 1362, 1575
Frisbee, John L., 1244
Fritsch, Bruno, 1069
Fromm, Erich, 911, 1036
Frye, Alton, 73
Fülberth, G., 642
Fujii, Heigo, 599
Fukushima, Shintaro, 1612
Fulbright, J. William, 766, 1151, 1157, 1947
Furlong, R. D. M., 1697
Furtak, Robert K., 583

G

Gabelić, Andro, 407, 439-440
Gaebelein, Jacquelyn W., 511
Gale, Sir Richard, 1779
Gallegos, Rudolfo N., 538
Gallois, Pierre, 1245
Galloway, Eilene, 1523
Galtung, Johan, 883, 910-911, 1175, 1372, 1400, 1432, 1487, 1491, 1569, 1901, 2005
Gamson, William A., 522
Gandolfi, Alain, 346
Gardner, Lloyd C., 1909
Gardner, Richard N., 1816
Garrett, Banning, 836
Garrett, Stephen A., 584
Garwin, Richard L., 2029
Gaskell, T. F., 1529
Gass, Oscar, 1104
Gasteyger, Curt, 1633
Gati, Charles, 74
Gatzke, Hans W., 1907
Gaudet, Michel, 870
Gault, William B., 837
Gavin, James M., 645
Gebhardt, Hermann P., 16, 1105
Geddes, J. Philip, 725, 1742
Geiger, Rudolf, 1366
Geisenheyner, Stefan, 237
Gelb, Leslie H., 75, 1325, 1655
Gelber, Harry G., 238, 767, 1246, 1553
Gelpke, Rhenus, 1899
Geneste, Marc E., 408, 1247
George, Douglas E., 2012
Gerassi, John, 1132
Gerhardt, James M., 1248
Germain, Lawrence S., 993
Germany (Democratic Republic, 1949-). Ministerium für Nationale Verteidigung, 807
Germany (Federal Republic, 1949-)
Bundesministerium der Verteidigung, 1249
Abteilung Wehrtechnik, 197
Bundestag. Wissenschaftliche Dienste, 1494
Presse- und Informationsamt, 585
Guetzkow, Harold, 911
Geyer, Georgie A., 1176
Geyer, Rolf, 1037, 1994
Gianakos, Perry E., 1913
Gibson, Thomas A., 1021
Gilberg, Trond, 76
Gilchrist, William, 726
Gilinsky, Victor, 2012
Gilpin, Robert, 968
Ginsburgs, George, 372
Girling, J. L. S., 1441
Glagolev, I., 911
Glasstone, Samuel, 1743
Glaubitz, Joachim, 1572, 1634
Glazer-Malbin, Nona, 1813
Glazier, Kenneth M., 809
Gleditsch, Nils P., 1901
Gold, Volker, 1057
Goldberg, Arthur J., 1527
Goldberger, Marvin L., 194
Goldblatt, Murray, 1106
Goldmann, Kjell, 1570
Goldstein, Walter, 712
Goldwater, Barry M., 239, 1786
Golsong, H., 870
Goodhart, Philip, 1779
Goodrich, Leland M., 29, 378, 1067
Gopalakrishnan, S., 1326
Gordenker, Leon, 891
Gordon, Bernard K., 981, 1107
Gordon, Colin, 768
Gordon, Max, 1635
Gorgol, John F., 842
Gorove, Stephen, 985
Goryainov, M., 911
Gosztony, Peter, 727
Gotchy, R. L., 2018, 2030
Gottesfeld, Zehava, 897
Gottlieb, Sanford, 240
Gottstein, Klaus, 1057
Gould, Loyal N., 926
Gouré, Leon, 1250
Graebner, Norman A., 1728
Graf, Hans, 1994
Graf, Richard G., 523
Graham, John R., 241
Grant, Bruce, 1122
Gray, Colin S., 17, 315, 706, 1787-1788, 1942
Gray, Richard, 528
Grech, Anthony P., 1367
Green, Duane, 523
Greenberg, William J., 1881
Greenfield, R. J., 995
Gregg, Robert W., 586
Gresham, Paul A., 838
Grey, Jerry, 1321
Grézer, Jacques O., 1495
Grieve, M. J., 1056
Griffiths, Franklyn, 1422
Grigorova, Georgetta, 1487
Gröndal, Benedikt, 1251
Gromyko, Anatoly, 1881
Gromyko, Andrei A., 77, 478, 884, 953
Groos, David, 1252
Grosberg, Jack, 1985
Gross, Leo, 1884
Grosser, Alfred, 1177
Gruder, Charles L., 1442
Gruson, Kerry, 327, 480
Guarghias, Aloysius, 242
Guelzo, Carl M., 1547
Guilcher, André J., 1529
Gumpel, Werner, 1178
Gupta, Anirudha, 1067
Gupta, Sisir K., 663, 767, 1598
Gurtov, Melvin, 243, 1108, 1443
Gustafson, Philip F., 1337
Guttenberg, Karl T., Freiherr von und zu, 28, 78, 594
Guttenburg, Theodor Graf von, 459
Gutteridge, William, 787
Guyot, Raymond, 1504

H

Haas, Ernst B., 29, 968, 981, 1069, 1816, 1871
Haas, Gerhard, 707
Habsburg, Otto von, 18
Hacker, Friedrich, 502
Hadley, Guy, 1496
Häfele, Wolf, 726
Haeger, Robert A., 1253
Hänisch, Werner, 1497
Haffner, Sebastian, 667
Hagen, Everett E., 1839
Hahm, Pyong-choon, 587, 1181
Hahn, Walter F., 1254
Halasz, Louis, 885
Halle, Louis J., 268, 1909
Halliday, Fred, 161

Hallstein, Walter, 459
Halper, Thomas, 1109
Halperin, Morton H., 409, 769, 1102, 1655, 1844
Halpern, A. M., 1102
Hamad, Jamil, 167
Hamer, David, 767
Hammarskjöld, Dag, 898, 1886
Hammarskjöld Forum, 14th, New York (Mar. 16, 1970), 1367
Han, Nae-bok, 1181
Han, Suyin, pseud., 86
Hanevold, Truls, 481, 1986
Hannigan, Jane A., 1030
Hanrieder, Wolfram F., 1884
Hansen, Niels, 462
Harbottle, Michael N., 1396, 1889, 1891
Hardin, Garrett, 342
Harding, Harry, 243
Harford, Thomas, 1561
Harkness, Peter A., 1625
Harle, Vilho, 1636
Harries, Owen, 668
Harrison, Bernard, 42
Harrison, Lawrence E., 588
Harrison, Stanley L., 79, 943
Harsanyi, John, 1816
Harsch, Joseph C., 524
Hartmann, G., 867
Harvey, Mary K., 1390
Hasan, K. Sarwar, 158
Hasegawa, H. S., 2016
Hasegawa, Saiji, 599
Hasegawa, Sukehiro, 81
Hasselager, Olaf, 1901
Hassler, Alfred, 843
Hassner, Pierre, 128, 519, 669, 968, 1043, 1053, 1413, 1582, 2005
Hatfield, Mark O., 1336
Hattis, Susan, 386
Hatz, Oskar, 162, 1110
Haug, Hans-Jürgen, 1014
Hauser, William L., 770
Hawley, Edward A., 1727
Hay, Peter, 1069
Hayden, Thomas, 911
Head, Ivan L., 589
Healey, Denis, 1779
Hecht, Rudolf, 163
Hecht, Selig, 342
Heck, Bruno, 594
Heegaard-Poulsen, P. A., 1994
Hefley, J. Theodore, 1911
Heimbrecht, Jörg, 1255
Helms, Richard, 244
Henderson, William, 569
Henry, Ernst, 670
Henthorn, William E., 1181
Heradstveit, Daniel, 164, 1698
Herman, Sondra, 1913
Herz, John H., 29
Herz, M., 1909
Hess, Peter, 1699
Hesse, Herbert R., 497
Heurlin, Bertel, 1912
Hewish, Mark, 1204
Hewitt, William, 1321
Heydte, Freiherr von der, 1862
Heymont, Irving, 772
Hezlet, Sir Arthur, 771, 1779
Hickie, John, 1694
Higgins, Rosalyn, 870, 1361, 1890-1891
Higham, Robin, 1728
Hill, Jim D., 1728
Hilsman, Roger, 422, 590
Hilton, Gordon, 1038, 1901
Himmelweit, Hilde, 532
Hinsley, F. H., 29
Hinterhoff, Eugène, 671
Hinton, Harold C., 165, 422, 1637
Hirasawa, Kazushige, 80
Hirasawa, Tomowo, 1015
Hirschfeld, Oswald, 1498, 1638
Hitch, Charles J., 1895
Hoadley, J. Stephen, 81
Hoag, Malcolm W., 505, 1816
Hoagland, John H., 712
Hobson, James R., 809
Hodgson, John H., 1639
Höivik, Tord, 1039
Höpker, Wolfgang, 245, 1640
Hoffman, Robert L., 1851
Hoffmann, Erik P., 591
Hoffmann, Heinz, 246-247
Hoffmann, Paul J., 986
Hoffmann, Stanley, 29, 839, 1499, 1780, 1886
Hofmann, Ronald A., 773
Holbraad, Carsten, 19, 1598
Holbrook, James R., 248
Holcombe, Arthur N., 1372
Holl, U. H., 1994
Hollick, Ann L., 987
Holloway, Bruce K., 728
Holloway, David, 198, 1918
Holme, Thomas T., 729
Holmes, John W., 82, 565, 1557
Holmes, Robert L., 42
Holst, Johan J., 1478, 1586, 1641, 1672, 1951, 1955
Holt, Sidney J., 1529
Holton, Thomas, 1368
Holzer, Fred, 1205
Hon, Eugene, 1642
Hon, Richard D., 1642
Hoogerwerf, A., 535
Hook, Sidney, 1895
Hoole, Francis W., 1881
Horelick, Arnold, 591
Horowitz, Dan, 774
Horowitz, David, 592, 1132, 1909
Horowitz, Irving L., 911, 1154, 1268
Hosmer, Craig, 204
Hottelet, Richard C., 360
Hottinger, Arnold, 166
Houn, Franklin W., 1111
Howard, Harry N., 1684
Howard, Michael, 1573
Howard, Nigel, 506, 1401
Howe, Jonathan T., 1256
Hubbard, David G., 387
Huber, Wolfgang, 393, 1550
Huck, Arthur, 1553
Hudson, G. F., 249, 1102, 1574
Hudson, J. A., 997
Hudson, Michael C., 696, 1684
Hudson, Richard, 886, 1444
Hudson, W. J., 83
Huesmann, L. Rowell, 1566
Hughes, Thomas L., 1040
Humphrey, Hubert H., 84, 1112, 1919
Hunck, Joseph M., 85
Hunt, Gregory W., 316
Hunt, Raymond G., 316
Hunter, Alex, 767
Hunter, Robert E., 410, 672
Huntington, Samuel P., 29, 843, 1318, 1582
Hupka, Herbert, 459, 593-594
Husain, Zakir, 1067
Hussain, T. Karki, 1113
Hutchings, Raymond, 317
Hutchins, Francis G., 934
Hutter, Clemens M., 775
Huyn, Hans, Graf von, 594
Hyder, Khurshid, 1571
Hymoff, Edward, 730
Hynd, John B., 459
Hyndman, James E., 565

I

IAEA. See International Atomic Energy Agency
IAkubovskii, I., 250
Ice, Solon, 338
Ichimaru, Michito, 1327
Iden, George, 1328
Ignatieff, George, 1548
Iguchi, Sadao, 599
Ihmels, Karl, 347
Iklé, Fred C., 1445
Iliff, Elisabeth F., 323
Ilsemann, Carl-Gero von, 251
Imai, Ryukichi, 430, 958
Inglehart, Ronald, 981
Ingvaldsen, Bernt, 1895
Inosemzev, Nikolai, 463
International Atomic Energy Agency, 428
International Institute for Strategic Studies. See London. International Institute for Strategic Studies
International Institute for Peace and Conflict Research, 1900, 1943
International Peace Academy Committee, 1886
International Peace Research Association, 1901
Irwin, Christopher, 1258
Irwin, John N., 1524
Isard, Walter, 1401
Ishikawa, Tadao, 1572
Ishimaru, Toranosuke, 1327
Iskenderov, A., 1318

Isoart, Paul, 1880
Israelson, H., 487
IUrkov, S., 87, 596

J

Jabber, Fuad, 1956
Jack, Homer A., 673, 1963
Jackson, Henry M., 697
Jackson, Keith, 597
Jacob, Alain, 64
Jacob, Philip E., 361
Jacobs, D. G., 1016
Jacobs, Walter D., 1851
Jacobsen, Hans A., 88
Jacobsen, Kurt, 1379, 1901
Jacobson, Harold K., 356, 372, 1043
Jacquet, Louis G. M., 1575, 1586
Jain, Girilal, 598
Jakobi, Ute, 909
Jakobson, Max, 887
James, Alan, 1257
James, Robert R., 898
Janis, Irving L., 911
Janowitz, Morris, 411, 1259, 1729, 1789-1790, 1813
Jansson, Jan-Magnus, 464
Japan Congress against Atomic and Hydrogen Bombs, 252
Japan Defense Agency, 253
Jarvad, Ib M., 1901
Jenkins, Robin, 1901
Jenner, F. A., 392
Jennings, Richard M., 1643
Jervis, Robert, 29
Jessup, Philip C., 362, 1372, 1865
Jha, D. C., 674
Joffe, Josef, 1057
Johnson, F. N., 1042
Johnson, Gerald W., 1179
Johnson, Joseph E., 344
Johnson, Lane R., 1531
Johnson, Lyndon B., 1527
Johnson, Richard A., 1115
Johnston, Douglas M., 153
Jonas, Manfred, 1913
Jones, Ernest, 512
Jones, G. R. N., 1206
Jordan, Robert S., 898, 1043
Joseph, Arnold B., 1337
Jouvenel, Bertrand de, 1895
Judd, C. W., 532
Jung, Mathias, 1014

K

Kabel, Rainer, 1902
Kahan, J. H., 776
Kahane, Max, 973
Kahin, George McT., 935, 1447
Kahn, Herman, 1044
Kaiser, Karl, 1057, 1575, 1987
Kajima, Morinosuke, 599
Kajima Institute of International Peace, Tokyo, 599
Kalckreuth, Jürg von, 1260
Kalicki, J. H., 1116
Kalisch, Robert B., 731
Kalkas, Barbara, 696
Kalshoven, Frits, 1369
Kaminski, Gerd, 1180
Kamiya, Fuji, 1181
Kanarowski, Stanley M., 1655
Kanegis, Arthur, 1473
Kapchenko, N. I., 577
Kapelinskii, IU. N., 577
Kaplan, Morton A., 89, 422, 1372, 1816
Kaplowitz, Stan A., 1576
Kapur, Ashok, 254, 1467
Kardatzke, Merl L., 497
Karjalainen, Ahti, 973
Karnow, Stanley, 90
Karsten, Peter, 1813
Kasprzak, John F., 1261
Kastl, Joseph W., 1791
Katauskas, Philip J., 1792
Katin, Vladimir, 1117
Kato, Hiroo, 1317, 1838
Katz, Daniel, 911
Katzner, Kenneth, 777
Kaufman, Richard F., 318, 840
Kaufman, Richard S., 1655
Kavic, Lorne, 153
Kawashima, Shojiro, 599
Kaysen, Carl, 29
Kedrovskii, O. L., 723
Keeton, George W., 1368
Kegley, Charles W., 586
Keil, Hartmut, 600
Keil-Specht, Heike, 1595
Keim, Willard D., 1045
Kelley, Albert J., 1321
Kelly, Joseph B., 1370
Kelly, M. J., 1016
Kelly, Peter, 430
Kelman, Herbert C., 911
Kemp, Geoffrey, 944
Kende, István, 1487
Keniston, Kenneth, 535
Kennan, George F., 1046
Kennedy, D. E., 767
Kennedy, Edward M., 319, 1549
Kennedy, John, 1196
Kennedy, T. E., 732
Kennedy, William V., 1118
Kent, George, 899
Kenworthy, E. W., 1339
Keohane, Robert O., 904, 1881
Kerman, Cynthia, 1913
Kerr, Madeline, 532
Kerr, Malcolm H., 696
Kewenig, Wilhelm, 1967
Keys, Donald F., 927
Khadduri, Majid, 1372
Khalidi, Ahmed, 190
Khan, Rahmatullah, 1067
Khaprov, S., 703
Kharich, V., 441-442
Khol, Andreas, 1487
Khoury, William, 1732
Khvostov, V. M., 577
Kidd, Isaac C., 969, 1793
Kielmansegg, Johan A., Graf von, 251
Kiener, Franz, 20
Kierman, Frank A., 569
Kim, C. I. Eugene, 1318
Kim, Chŏng-kŏn, 1380
Kim, Yong-koo, 888
Kimche, Jon, 167-168, 1700
Kimura, Toshio, 599
Kindermann, Cottfried-Karl, 1181
Kind, David B., 601
King, Edward L., 1846
King, Jere C., 1196
King, Peter, 948
Kinnaman, Ross L., 495
Kintner, William R., 21, 1047, 1262
Kirchschläger, Rudolf, 91
Kirk, Peter, 1988
Kirk-Greene, Anthony H. M., 1730
Kirkpatrick, Lyman B., 225
Kirshbaum, Jack D., 1327
Kissinger, Henry A., 29, 843
Kistiakowsky, George B., 591, 825
Kitson, Frank, 1731
Klefisch, Johannes W., 1500
Klein, Jean, 1487
Klein, Lawrence R., 2021
Klein, Martin, 1014
Klein, Tom, 327
Klement, Alfred W., 1762
Klingberg, Frank L., 356, 911
Klochko, Mikhail, 153
Klocke, Helmut, 1048
Klönne, Arno, 900
Kloss, Heinz, 602
Kluss, Heinz, 412
Knauss, John A., 1525, 2008
Knaute, Hans J., 71
Knoll, Erwin, 255
Knorr, Karl-Ernst, 380
Knorr, Klaus, 968, 1372
Knott, Paul D., 11, 1577
Knox, J. B., 988
Koch, Claus, 1320
Koch, Roland, 1057
Kock, F. H. C., 256
Kodžić, Petar, 1423
Kogon, Eugen, 1578
Kohl, Wilfrid L., 1263
Kohler, Foy D., 92, 257
Kohn, Richard H., 1764
Kohtani, Etsuo, 1994
Kolb, W., 491
Kolko, Gabriel, 778, 843, 1324, 1909
Kolkowicz, Roman, 1851
Kolodkin, Anatoly L., 1529
Kolodziej, Edward A., 93, 1794
Koloskov, B., 1644
Komer, Robert W., 712
Konzelmann, Gerhard, 169
Koppel, Ted, 1149
Korb, Lawrence J., 1329
Korbonski, Andrzej, 981

Kosaka, Zentaro, 599
Kossok, Manfred, 708
Kourvetaris, George A., 1330
Kovalskii, N., 525
Kozlovski, E., 603
Krägenau, Henry, 1319
Kraft, Joseph, 443, 604
Kramer, Marc, 327
Kramish, Arnold, 342, 1361, 1468
Kratzer, Myron B., 430
Kreilkamp, Karl, 733
Kreis, Rudolf, 465
Krimpen, Chr. van, 1939
Krippendorff, Ekkehart, 94, 1906
Kristol, Irving, 1119
Krivickas, Domas, 2011
Kröger, Herbert, 605
Krüger, Joachim, 22, 1497
Krutzsch, Walter, 954
Krylov, Konstantin K., 841
Krysmanski, Hans J., 1049
Kühn, Alfred G., 258
Kuentz, Peter, 1264
Küpper, Christel, 1057
Kuhn, Annette, 1550
Kulebiakin, V., 989
Kuliang, J. K. L., 23
Kuliang, K. K. L., 23
Kulish, V. M., 974
Kuntze, Peter, 676
Kupperman, Robert H., 1795
Kussbach, Erich, 348
Kutakov, Leonid N., 363, 918
Kux, Ernst, 1572
Kuzmack, Arnold M., 779, 1796
Kuzmin, V., 1120
Kyle, Keith, 1501
Kyozo, Mori, 606

L

Lacouture, Jean, 843
Lades, H., 1994
LaFeber, Walter, 1909, 1913
La Follette, Belle Case, 388
La Follette, Fola, 388
Laird, Melvin R., 259, 1797
Lakey, George, 383
Laking, George R., 1121-1122
Lalande, Gilles, 565
Lall, Arthur, 372
Laloy, Jean, 1909
Lambeth, Benjamin S., 444, 1479
Lambilliote, Maurice, 642
Land, Charles E., 1317, 1838
Lande, Gabriella R., 891, 1884
Landheer, Bartholomeus, 1069, 1901
Lane, Robert E., 535
Lang, Nicolas, 1994
Langer, Elinor, 825
Langer, William L., 29
La Palombara, Joseph, 535
Lapp, Ralph E., 1919
Laqueur, Walter, 526, 1579-1580, 1582
Larkin, Bruce D., 1645
Larock, Victor, 979
Larson, Arthur, 1903
Larson, Arthur D., 1798
Larson, Clarence E., 726
Larson, Thomas B., 1074
Larudee, Mehrene, 1135
Lasswell, Harold D., 1372
Lathe, Heinz, 1799
Latter, Albert, 342
Lattery, J. E., 1006
Latzo, Anton, 22
Lau, Lawrence J., 1227
Laurie, Peter, 1331
Lauterpacht, E., 870
Laux, Jeanne, 2005
Laves, Walter H. C., 1372
Law of the Sea Institute, 482, 2008
Lawson, Don, 388
Layno, Salvador B., 734
Lazar, Arpad von, 1581
Leacacos, John P., 607
Lederberg, Joshua, 1895
Lederer, Herbert, 608
Lee, John, 1265
Lee, William T., 1851
Lefever, Ernest W., 1728, 1892
Leff, Nathaniel H., 95
Lefkowitz, Monroe M., 13, 1566
Legault, Albert, 565
Legere, Laurence J., 1844
Legler, Anton, 709
Lehmann, Horst, 349
Leitenberg, Milton, 1332, 1353
Lekven, Jon, 1333
Lemass, Sean F., 1586
LeMelle, Tilden J., 515
Lemnitzer, Lyman L., 96
Lenczowski, George, 1646
Lendvai, Paul, 1123
Lenin, N., 1732
Leonard, James F., 413, 432
Leonidov, E., 97
LePage, Anthony, 1595
Lepawsky, Albert, 1372
Lepenies, Wolf, 901
Lerman, Abraham, 1334
Lerner, Daniel, 1318
Leroy, Daniel, 1207
Leruez, Jacques, 1041
Lesher, J. Griffin, 1266
Levi, Werner, 911, 981
Levie, Howard S., 1367
Levine, Robert A., 29
Levine, Seymour, 1031
Levitt, Theodore, 968
Levy, Marion J., 1318
Lewan, Kenneth M., 350
Li, Cheng-chung, 1267
Libby, Frederick J., 389
Licklider, Roy E., 1268, 1800
Liebermann, Robert C., 492, 1003
Lifton, Robert J., 1324
Lin, Piao, 1069
Lincoln, Abraham, 388
Lincoln, James B., 199
Lindbeck, John M. H., 767
Lindberg, Leon N., 981
Lindberg, Niels, 1901
Linde, Gerd, 1269, 1647
Link, Werner, 98
Lippmann, Walter, 609
Lipset, Seymour M., 535
Lipson, Leslie M., 586
Lipton, Nancy, 200, 327
Lischke, Gottfried, 909
Liston, Robert A., 1848
Little, David, 843
Liu, Leo Y., 610, 780
Livingston, Robert G., 611
Lloyd, William B., 902
Lobner, Matthias R., 1057
Lodgaard, Sverre, 1050, 1487, 1491
Löbl, Eugen, 99
Loenen, Johannes H. M. M., 1069
Lövseth, Knut, 322
Löwenthal, Richard, 1648
Lofchie, Michael F., 1727
Lohrding, Ronald K., 846
Lohs, Karlheinz, 12
Lomko, I. A., 577
London. International Institute for Strategic Studies, 260, 1582
London, W. Thomas, 339
Lothian, Peter F. W. K., 12th Marquess of, 1920
Lotz, Walter E., 1448
Lotze, Herbert, 364
Love, Jean C., 2019
Love, Kennett, 1684
Lovell, John P., 1318
Lowenthal, Richard, 1124
Lozoya, Jorge A., 1289
Luard, Evan, 29
Lucas, J. W., 1849
Lucas, Philippe, 1041
Lucas, William A., 1813
Lukas, Anthony J., 612
Lumb, Ralph F., 2012
Lumsden, Malvern, 1901
Luns, Joseph, 781
Lupsha, Peter A., 1583
Luttwak, Edward, 1208
L'vov, Michail, 928, 1424
Lynn, Normann, 1748
Lyon, Peter, 767
Lyon, Peyton V., 565
Lyons, Gene M., 1671

M

McAlister, John T., 843
McCain, John S., 782
McCarthy, Mary, 327, 843
McCarthy, Richard D., 1367
McCarthy, Terence, 842
McClelland, Charles A., 1372
McClintock, Michael, 936
McCracken, H. E., 1649

McDermott, John, 843
McEvilly, T. V., 994
MacFarquhar, Roderick, 1102
McGaurr, Darcy, 784
McGee, Gale, 1650
McGeehan, Robert, 1270
McGovern, George S., 329
MccGwire, Michael, 783
McIntyre, William D., 261
Macioti, Manfredo, 735
Mack, Andrew, 1901
Mack, Raymond W., 911
Mackie, J. A. C., 767, 1553
Mackintosh, Malcolm, 1456, 1612
McKinzie, Richard D., 1913
MacLean, Brian, 1599
MacLeod, Alexander, 505
McMahon, William, 613-614
McRae, D. M., 867
McVitty, Marion H., 1635
McWhinney, Edward, 372
Maechling, Charles, 990
Maessen, Hubert, 1014
Maffre, John, 1801
Magee, John F., 794
Mahncke, Dieter, 678
Maier, Charles S., 1909
Maievskii, Viktor, 976
Majonica, Ernst, 615-616
Malawer, Stuart S., 873
Malcužyński, Karol, 100
Malefakis, Edward E., 1728
Malhotra, Inder, 64
Mallin, Jay, 1732
Mallison, W. T., 696
Mallone, Ronald, 1904
Mallory, Leslie, 903
Manea, I., 1927
Manger, William, 981
Mangone, Gerard J., 2007
Mann, Golo, 1084
Manno, Catherine S., 1884
Mansfield, Michael J., 101, 1335, 1968
Mantell, David M., 1595
Mardek, Helmut, 543
Marglin, Stephen A., 663
Marighella, Carlos, 711, 1732
Mariska, Mark D., 1271
Marko, Ján, 102
Marks, Donald M., 679
Marquard, Leopold, 1989
Marriott, John, 201, 785
Marshall, P. D., 490, 997, 2013
Martin, Glen W., 1449
Martin, Joseph, 1921
Maryland. State Planning Dept., 1543
Marzari, Frank, 1272-1273
Mason, Edward S., 663
Mason, W. L., 535
Mates, Leo, 680
Matthews, R. O., 565
Matthey, Ferdinand, 1701
Matthies, Volker, 787
Matthiessen, Gunnar, 466, 1425, 1502
Maurer, Ralph G., 1348
May, E. C., 1909
May, Ernest R., 1671
Mayer, Jean, 1850
Mazing, V., 1274
Mazrui, Ali A., 696, 977, 1582
Meehan, John F., 1275
Mehnert, Klaus, 1051, 1572, 1612
Mehrish, B. N., 103
Mei, Ko-Wang, 1734
Meier, Christian, 617
Meier, Viktor, 1043
Meisner, Maurice, 153
Meissner, Boris, 104
Meister, Jürg, 786, 1276
Melby, John F., 153
Melchior de Molènes, Charles, 467, 1990
Melman, Seymour, 320, 842, 1655
Mel'nikov, Daniil, 1991
Members of Congress for Peace through Law. Military Spending Committee, 1336
Menard, H. W., 1529
Menke-Glückert, Peter, 1057
Mennicken, Jan-Baldem, 365
Menzel, Eberhard, 1069, 1529, 1862, 1992
Menzel, Paul T., 843
Merhav, Peretz, 390
Merton, Thomas, 391
Meselson, Matthew, 1474
Metcalf, W. G., 1841
Meyer, Wolfgang, 366
Meyer-Detring, Wilhelm, 321
M'gabe, Davis, 1727
Michalak, Stanley J., 891
Michener, James A., 681
Mikheev, V., 188
Miksche, Ferdinand O., 1426
Miliutenkov, D. M., 713
Millar, Thomas B., 505, 1598, 1957
Miller, J. D. B., 1553
Miller, Linda B., 891, 1884
Miller, Lynn H., 1874
Miller, Ronald B., 42
Millikan, Max F., 1839
Milner, C. G., 945
Milsom, John, 710
Milton, T. R., 1277
Miners, N. J., 262
Mir, D., 1059
Miroshchnichenko, N. F., 713
Mischke, Ferdinand O., 946
Miser, Hugh J., 794
Mitchell, C. R., 24
Mitchell, Walter, 1209
Mitchell, William C., 1852
Modigliani, Andre, 522
Molchanov, IU., 618
Moll, Kenneth L., 1802
Molnar, P., 1003
Mommsen, Ernst W., 264
Momoi, Makoto, 767
Moore, John N., 1361
Moore, William C., 265
Morgan, Kenneth O., 528
Morgan, Roger, 105
Morgenthau, Hans J., 29, 342, 422, 645, 1182, 1886
Morokhov, I. D., 430, 844, 1000
Morokhov, Igor, 949
Morozov, Grigorii I., 367
Morray, Joseph P., 1909
Morris, Bernard S., 591
Morris, C. E., 266, 1993
Morrison, Donald G., 1052
Morrock, Richard, 1132
Mosele, Victor F., 231
Mosely, Philip E., 1456
Moskos, Charles C., 793, 1813
Moss, Robert, 711
Motsoana, Mavuso, 1702
Moulton, J. L., 789
Moulton, Phillips P., 1402
Moyer, Andrew, 1651
Moyer, Kenneth E., 1059, 1595
Mozingo, David P., 1102
Muckerman, Joseph E., 267
Mueller, George, 1321
Mueller, Richard A., 998
Mukherjee, Hiren, 1125
Mukerjee, Tapan, 1906
Muller, H. J., 342
Muñoz Ledo, Porfirio, 1586
Muraise, Eric, 1703
Murgescu, Costin, 1487
Murphy, Brian L., 1211
Murphy, Charles J. V., 1469
Murphy, John R., 998
Murphy, Leonard, 1001
Murray, Bruce C., 1533
Murty, T. S., 1183
Mus, Paul, 843
Muscarella, Giuseppe, 1529
Mushkat, Marion, 1901
Musílek, Jaroslav, 978
Mustafa, Zubeida, 1571
Muteba, Ernest, 1591
Myers, Henry R., 999, 1534, 1749
Myrdal, Gunnar, 1962

N

Nader, Laura, 1936
Nadeshdin, Andrei, 527
Nadirov, I. S., 713
Nafziger, E. Wayne, 1728
Nagorski, Zygmunt, 1585
Nahm, Andrew C., 1126
Nailor, Peter, 1257, 1779
Nanda, Krish, 950
Nanda, Ved P., 56
Narayanan, R., 1067
Narita, Katsushiro, 599
National Liberation Front of South Vietnam, 843
National Research Council. Panel on Radioactivity in the Marine Environment, 1337
Nawaz, Mahomed, 875

Nawrocki, Joachim, 682
Neal, Fred W., 645
Needler, Martin C., 586, 1318
Neilands, J. B., 1962
Neild, Robert, 1535
Nelson, Keith L., 1338
Nelson, Richard R., 194
Nelson, Walter H., 1803
Nerlich, Uwe, 468
Nes, David G., 1652
Nesbitt, William A., 1017
Neubauer, Günter, 1804
Neuhold, H., 867
Neumann, Erich P., 1805
Neumann, Richard, 469
Newcombe, Alan G., 1901
Newcombe, Hanna, 426, 1901
Newhouse, John, 619, 1278
Newlon, Daniel H., 1806
Newsom, David D., 889, 1127
Nicholson, Michael, 529
Nicolae, Ion, 1586
Nieburg, H. L., 512
Niemeyer, Gerhart, 1054
Niino, Hiroshi, 1529
Nissen, Iingjald, 25
Niu, Sien-chong, 620, 791
Nixon, Richard M., 64, 107, 484, 843, 1128-1130, 1138, 1526-1527, 1961, 1979
Nizhegorodskii, K., 1360
Nobel, Genia, 1653
Nobel Symposium, 17th, Oslo (1970), 1586
Nolte, Helmut, 901
Nolting, Louvan E., 1279
Noorani, Abdul G., 1131
Nordyke, Milo D., 845
North, Robert C., 356, 515
North Atlantic Treaty Organization, 737
Northedge, F. S., 1056, 1551
Nossiter, Bernard D., 842
Novak, Michael, 535
Novoseltsev, E. N., 577
Nowzad, Bahram, 981
Nutter, G. Warren, 1895
Nydal, Reidar, 322
Nye, Joseph S., 904, 981

O

ORSA Ad Hoc Committee on Professional Standards, 794
Oakes, Walter J., 842
Oberländer, Erwin, 1069
Obermann, Emil, 284
O'Connell, D. P., 483
Oda, Shigeru, 1529
Odescalchi, Edmond P., 530
Ørvik, Nils, 268
Ofshe, Richard, 905
Ogawa, Masaru, 64
Ogle, Arthur B., 843
Oglesby, Carl, 843
Ogley, Roderick, 1906
Oittinen, R. H., 979
Oksenberg, Michel, 108
Okumu, John J., 1586, 1708, 1951
O'Leary, Michael K., 586
Olelah, Ibrahim D., 1807
Oliver, Jack, 1001
Olsen, Ole J., 1901
Olson, Lawrence A., 621
Olteanu, N., 1134
O'Neill, Robert J., 767, 792
Oppenheim, A. N., 1901
Oppenheimer, Martin, 793, 851
Oppermann, Thomas, 1862
Opton, Edward M., 793
Oraison, André, 1875
Orians, Gordon H., 1962
Ornauer, Helmut, 1432
Orr, Samuel C., 445
Ort, Alexander, 1487
Osakwe, Chris, 351, 867
Osanai, Hiroshi, 252
Osgood, Charles E., 911
Osgood, Robert E., 1655
Oskamp, Stuart, 531
Osterbert, David, 1587
Otway, Harry J., 846
Overend, William, 202
Overstreet, R. E., 1588
Oxtoby, Willard G., 683

P

Pace, Dean F., 1807
Pachter, Henry, 109
Padelford, Norman J., 1526-1527
Pächter, Heinz. See Pachter, Henry
Pahl-Rugenstein, Manfred, 623
Painter, Norman H., 497
Palit, D. K., 429
Pallete, Luis V., 1289
Palmer, Michael, 1503, 1995-1996, 2005
Palmer, Norman D., 110, 170, 1704
Palmon, J. E., 684
Palsokar, R. D., 429
Pamor, A., 1859
Panel on the Practical Applications of the Peaceful Uses of Nuclear Explosions, Vienna (1971), 1750
Panofsky, W. K. H., 446
Paolucci, Dominic A., 1969
Papke, Sven, 1014
Pardo, Arvid, 1390, 1529
Parenti, Michael, 1132
Parikh, Karit S., 726
Park, Joon-Kyu, 1705
Park, Richard L., 586
Parry-Davies, E. Malcolm, 795
Parthasarathi, A., 914
Pascal, Radu, 1133
Paterson, Thomas G., 1909
Patterson, David S., 1913
Paul, David W., 111
Pauling, Linus, 342
Paulus VI, Pope, 1403
Pavić, Radovan, 624, 1808
Pawelka, Peter, 1654
Payne, Stanley, 528
Peebody, James B., 1184
Pear, Tom H., 532
Pearson, I. B., 392
Pearson, Michael, 793
Peck, Joachim, 625
Pedersen, Kenneth S., 968
Pedersen, Paul, 540
Peirson, D. H., 847
Pell, Claiborne, 1656
Pelowski, Allan L., 1382
Peltier, Marius, 1809
Penescu, Corneliu, 1134, 1505
Penzin, D., 2
Pépy, Daniel, 32
Perez-Guerrero, Manuel, 1058
Pergent, J., 203, 1281, 1810
Perl, Martin L., 959
Perle, Richard N., 447
Perret-Gentil, Jacques. See Pergent, J.
Perry, Jack, 1074
Peterfi, William O., 113
Peters, Werner, 1282
Peterson, Betty, 86
Peterson, K. R., 988
Peterson, Patti M., 1913
Petković, Ranko, 471, 533
Petras, James, 1132
Petrov, Vladimir, 534
Pfaff, Richard H., 1684
Pfaltzgraff, Robert L., 270, 1262
Pfeifenberger, Werner, 1876, 1905
Pfeiffer, E. W., 1475, 1962
Phillips, Christopher H., 1433
Phillips, Warren R., 27, 1589
Picht, Georg, 393
Pick, Otto, 1506
Pictet, Jean, 1369
Pierce, Allan D., 323
Pierce, E. T., 1340
Pierce, Roy, 535
Pierre, Andrew J., 271, 1811
Pilisuk, Marc, 911, 1135
Pilkington, J. A., 1213
Pipes, Richard E., 788, 1136, 1450
Pitt, William M., 796
Platz, Heinz P., 28
Plotnik, R., 1059
Plummer, K. L., 2011
Polak, Frederick L., 1069
Polenberg, Richard, 1341
Polianov, N. E., 577, 626
Pollard, Vincent, 1507
Pollard, William G., 1895
Polmar, Norman, 272
Polvani, Carlo, 1529
Pomerance, Jo, 1539
Pomeroy, P. W., 994
Pomonti, Jean-Claude, 848
Pontifical Commission Justice and Peace, 1896
Poonawala, Rashida, 1571

Poplai, S. L., 1693, 1951
Porath, Reuben, 797
Porter, D. Gareth, 843
Portnoy, Barry M., 493
Posey, Joe W., 323
Possony, Stefan T., 114, 204
Potholm, Christian P., 1657
Potter, Ian, 767
Potyka, Christian, 2024
Pournelle, J. E., 204
Pownall, Thomas, 1321
Prager, Hans G., 685
Prentl, Sepp, 1283
President's Commission for the Observance of the 25th Anniversary of the United Nations, 1886
President's Science Advisory Committee. Panel on Oceanography, 1527
President's Task Force on Oceanography, 1526
Preston, R. G., 1224
Pretty, R. T., 1746
Prifti, Peter R., 1137
Prindle, Austin L., 1021
Pritchard, Charles G., 1812
Prlja, Aleksandar, 171
Prokofiev, B., 381
Prosch, Harry, 512
Prosser, George, 1732
Proxmire, William, 1971
Pryce, Roy, 1053
Pugwash Conference on Science and World Affairs, 21st, Sinaia, Romania (1971), 960
Pugwash Working Group on Disarmament, 1480
Pugwash Working Group on European Security Problems, 1508
Pusey, Merlo J., 1660

Q

Quaroni, Pietro, 459
Quester, George H., 29, 1816

R

Ra'anan, Uri, 627, 1451
Rabinowitch, Eugene, 342
Radivojević, Dragomir, 1707
Radovanović, Ljubomir, 419, 686, 906
Radway, Laurence I., 1813
Radzibor, Cyrill von, 1661
Rajan, M. S., 1067, 1662
Rakette, Egon H., 907
Ramazani, Rouhollah K., 1372
Ramsden, J. M., 740, 1214
Ramsey, Paul, 843
Rana, Swadesh, 1067
Rand Corporation, 1590, 1980
Randecker, Victor W., 828
Rangarajan, C., 1326
Ranger, Robert, 1043, 1427
Rankin, Jeanette, 388
Rao, P. V. R., 273
Rao, R. Rama, 663, 1284
Rapacki, Zbigniew, 1663
Rapoport, Anatol, 910
Rapoport, Jacques, 1591
Rapoport, Roger, 849
Raskin, Marcus G., 327, 1655
Rasmussen, Jørgen, 1901
Ratcliffe, A. L., 1060
Rather, Dan, 1138
Rathjens, George W., 194, 448, 591
Rauchensteiner, Manfried, 687
Rauschning, Dietrich, 1862
Raven, Wolfram von, 1998
Ravenal, Earl C., 115, 128, 1655
Rawski, Thomas, 153
Read, Campbell B., 1342
Réchin, Paul, 1814
Rechtin, Eberhardt, 1215
Réczei, László, 1586
Redpath, Bruce B., 1160
Reed, Jack W., 1343, 1536
Rehm, Walter, 1509
Reich, Michael, 325
Reich, Utz-Peter, 1510, 2024
Reinicke, Adolf, 274
Reinton, Per O., 1901
Reischauer, Edwin O., 628
Reisman, W. Michael, 1361
Reiss, Willi, 1815
Rejai, Mostafa, 535
Relyea, Harold C., 1344
Remington, Robin A., 798
Reshetar, John S., 629
Ress, Georg, 1877
Revelle, Roger, 1529
Reynolds, Philip A., 1061, 1067
Reznichenko, Vasilii G., 713
Rhee, T. C., 275
Rhyne, Charles S., 1867
Rice, Berkeley, 205, 741
Richards, Lindsay, 1473
Richardson, James L., 505, 767, 1286, 1868
Richardson, L. F., 532
Richman, Alvin, 326
Richter, Edward G., 497
Rideau, Joël, 1880
Rider, Graham W., 1287
Riemer, Reynold A., 116
Riggs, Robert E., 1384
Rinden, Robert W., 1139
Rios, Jose A., 1289
Rissman, Paul, 936
Riste, Olav, 1664
Rizer, G. C., 1216
Roake, William E., 726
Roalfe, William R., 1871
Roberts, Chalmers, 414
Roberts, Frank, 631
Roberts, Jack L., 799
Robertson, A. H., 870
Robinson, Bryan W., 1059
Robinson, Donald L., 1288
Robinson, Jo Ann, 1913
Robinson, Richard D., 1318
Robinson, Thomas W., 632
Robison, W. L., 1217
Rochester, J. Martin, 1032, 1201, 1385
Rodberg, Leonard S., 200, 327, 1010, 1655
Rodean, Howard C., 1537
Rodinson, Maxime, 182
Röling, Bert V. A., 1372, 1862, 1901
Roett, Riordan, 1289
Rogers, Rita M., 1404
Rogers, William P., 117, 328, 484, 633, 843, 890, 1149, 1159, 1961, 1979
Rohwer, P. S., 1016
Rolbant, Samuel, 276
Roll, Christian, 173
Romer, Alfred, 342
Ronk, D. E., 688
Ropp, Klaus von der, Freiherr, 30
Ropp, Theodore, 1193
Rose, Hilary, 1353
Rose, Steven, 1353, 1476
Rosecrance, Richard N., 1816
Rosen, Louis, 494
Rosen, Steven, 1592
Rosenau, James N., 356
Rosenberg, Milton J., 329
Rosenfeld, Helmut, 1057
Roskin, Michael, 1665
Ross, David F., 1528
Ross, Michael, 1901
Rosser, Richard F., 1140
Rostow, Eugene V., 1456, 1666
Rostow, Walt W., 536, 634
Roth, Karl-Friedrich, 394
Rothenberg, Albert, 537
Rothenberg, Morris, 1881
Rougemont, Denis de, 908
Rouquié, Alain, 1289
Rovine, Arthur W., 1878
Rubakov, V., 930
Rubinstein, Alvin Z., 118, 372
Rubinstein, Georges, 427
Rucker, Darnell, 512
Rudolf, Walter, 352
Ruedy, John, 696
Ruge, Friedrich, 277
Ruge, Gerd, 1504, 1817
Ruge, Mari H., 1901
Ruina, J. P., 1535
Rummel, R. J., 911, 1906
Rumney, Mason P., 1349
Rumpf, Helmut, 874
Rush, Kenneth, 1709
Rusis, Armins, 2011
Rusk, Dean, 29
Russell, Elbert W., 1062
Russell, Irving R., 1337
Russett, Bruce M., 29, 31, 793, 842, 851, 1853, 1881
Ryan, Jonn D., 800, 1832

S

Saaty, Thomas L., 506, 1593
Säter, Martin, 1491

Safran, Nadav, 1141, 1186, 1667
Sagner, Fred, 1710
Šahović, Milan, 369, 1487
Saianov, O., 119
Sakanoue, Masanobu, 852
Salibi, Kamal S., 528
Salomon, Jean-Jacques, 853
Salpeter, Eliahu, 1187
Salter, Leonard M., 1371
Saltman, Juliet, 2023
Sampooran Singh, 951
Samuel, David, 897
Sanakoev, SH. P., 120, 577
Sande, Øystein, 1063
Sandler, Stanley, 1064
Sanford, Nevitt, 793
Sanness, John, 1951
Sarabhai, Vikram A., 726
Saran, Vimla, 1711
Šaranović, Mihailo, 635
Saraydar, Edward, 1452
Sartre, Jean-Paul, 843
Sattler, Martin J., 712
Savino, J. M., 994, 1003
Sawhny, Rathy, 663, 801
Sawyer, Robert K., 278
Saywell, William, 153, 1142
Scalapino, Robert A., 843, 1102, 1895
Schacht, Heinrich, 1014
Schacht, Kurt, 980
Schachter, Oscar, 870, 875
Schack, Alard von, 1065, 1594
Schacky, Erwin, Freiherr von, 991
Schaefer, Milner B., 1529
Schapiro, Leonard, 788
Scharndorff, Werner, 802
Scharrer, Hans-Eckart, 1319
Scheel, Walter, 395, 689, 971, 1143, 1668
Scheider, Armin, 279
Scheingold, Stuart A., 981
Scheinman, Lawrence, 898
Schelling, Thomas C., 29, 512, 1886
Schenke, Wolf, 121, 636
Scherer, Frederic M., 194
Scherk, Nikolaus, 32
Schilling, Jürgen, 1066
Schlegel, Dietrich, 637
Schlesinger, Arthur M., 591, 645, 1909
Schloss, Rolf W., 174
Schlott, Gerhart, 1345
Schmid, Hans H., 396
Schmid, Herman, 910, 1901
Schmidt, Hans D., 1595
Schmidt, Helmut, 122, 1019, 1144-1145, 1249, 1669, 1818
Schmidt-Jortzig, Edzard, 690
Schmidt-Mummendey, Amélie, 1595
Schmitter, Philippe C., 981
Schneider, Fernand-Thiébaut, 280
Schneider, Heinrich, 370
Schneider, Mark B., 1973
Schneider, R., 838
Schnippenkoetter, Swidbert, 1057
Schoenau, Karl L. von, 330
Schoenbrun, David, 843
Schoeps, Hans J., 1712
Schofield, B. B., 175, 1819
Schooler, Dean, 1428
Schott, David B., 1958
Schott, Franz, 909
Schou, August, 1586
Schrader, Rudolf, 1820
Schram, Gunnar G., 1586
Schreiber, Marc, 1367
Schreier, F., 1751-1752
Schuert, E. A., 1337
Schütze, Walter, 176, 1605
Schützsack, Axel, 803
Schuler, Ernst, 1511
Schulte, Ludwig, 854, 1453
Schulz, Johannes, 1014
Schulz, Klaus-Peter, 1670
Schuman, Frederick L., 1372
Schumann, Maurice, 638
Schurmann, H. Franz, 1655, 1671
Schwab, Peter, 1462
Schwamborn, Winfried, 1014
Schwartz, Brian B., 312
Schwartz, Hans-Joachim, 1595
Schwartz, L., 1217
Schwarz, Hans-Peter, 1999
Schwarz, Urs, 33, 1290, 1575
Schwarzenberger, Georg, 1868
Schwarzkopf, Dietrich, 472
Schwebel, Stephen M., 870
Schweitzer, Michael, 352, 1862
Schwelien, Joachim, 1572
Schwerin, Edward W., 1607
Scott, Alwyn, 936
Scott, Andrew W., 1043
Scott, Fraser, 207
Scott, John P., 1059
Scott, Joseph W., 793
Scott, Neil R., 1348
Scoville, Herbert, 742, 804, 1481-1482, 1753, 1821, 1919
Scribner, Jeffrey L., 123, 1291
Scrivener, Desmond, 1218
Seaborg, Glenn T., 726, 1004
Sebald, Hans, 538
Seabury, Paul, 1909
Seamans, Robert C., 1832
Sefrin, Max, 1737
Segal, Aaron, 1512
Segre, Beniamino, 1529
Seidl-Hohenveldern, Ignaz, 1386
Selden, Mark, 1234
Selg, Herbert, 909
Sellers, Robert C., 1823
Selten, Reinhard, 1816
Seminar on Canadian-American Relations, 9th, University of Windsor (1967), 639
Senger und Etterlin, Ferdinand M. von, 743
Senghaas, Dieter, 910, 1057, 1372, 1854
Sengupta, Arjun, 663
Serafin, George, 473
Serong, F. P., 177
Seton-Watson, Hugh, 528, 1572, 1909
Sewell, James P., 372
Seyler, A. J., 767
Shaffer, Helen B., 1625
Shaffer, Jerome A., 42
Shannon, William V., 64
Shapley, Deborah, 1346
Sharlet, Robert, 2019
Sharma, Kashiram, 1146
Sharp, Gene, 512
Shearer, Derek, 327
Sheehan, Edward R. F., 691
Sheeks, Robert B., 1227
Sheen, Doh-sung, 1181
Sheffe, Norman, 705
Sheldon, Charles S., 2011
Shepherd, George W., 515
Sheppard, J. C., 1299
Shestov, V., 431, 952
Shevchenko, A., 415
Shinn, Roger L., 1733
Shirkey, Charles P., 1655
Shihadeh, Aziz, 167
Shizuo, Maruyama, 124
Shub, Anatole, 1188
Shub, Louis, 1147
Shulman, Marshall D., 586, 591
Sibirzev, IU., 178
Sicherman, Harvey, 21
Sidorenko, A. A., 713
Siegler, Heinrich, Freiherr von, 1929-1932
Sights, Albert P., 1824
Silber, Howard, 281
Silker, W. B., 1347
Silverman, Peter, 1825
Silverstein, Harvey B., 1879
Silvestri, Stefano, 268
Simonian, R., 1292
Sims, David E., 327
Singer, J. David, 356, 910, 1195, 1372, 1901
Singer, Jerome E., 1173
Singer, Max, 586
Singh, Arjan, 1299
Singh, Baljit, 1734
Singh, Biswanath, 1387
Singh, Lalita P., 179
Singh, Sangat, 1148
Sixsmith, E. K. G., 282
Skaug, Gunnar, 642
Skjelsbaek, Kjell, 1881, 1901
Skolnikoff, Eugene B., 515, 2031
Skowroński, Andrzej, 2000
Slapnicka, Harry, 125
Sloan, Stephen, 34
Slocombe, Walter, 855
Slonim, Shlomo, 1713
Sloss, Leon, 1655
Sloup, George P., 985
Smart, Ian, 283

Smirnov, K., 692
Smirnov, N., 641
Smith, Charles F., 1219
Smith, Claggett G., 911
Smith, Don D., 1596
Smith, Donald F., 805
Smith, Douglas E., 35
Smith, Gerard C., 449, 961
Smith, Harvey A., 1958
Smith, Hedrick, 1339
Smith, Howard K., 1149
Smith, Jessica, 1552
Smith, Perry M., 806
Smith, Robert B., 1813
Smith, Robert H., 1754
Smith, S. Vaughan, 838
Smith, Sam, 856
Smoker, Paul, 911, 1906
Snow, Edgar, 126, 539
Snyder, Glenn H., 29
Snyder, Richard C., 911
Sobik, Erich, 331, 714, 1826
Sohn, Louis B., 870, 1529, 1871
Sokol, Daniel, 1005
Sokolov, IA. A., 1513
Solomon, George F., 1348
Solomon, Leonard, 1561
Sonntag, Philipp, 919, 2024
Soong, Ching-ling, 1150
Sortais, Jean-Pierre, 1880
Sozialwissenschaftliche Arbeitsgemeinschaft, 808
Spanier, John W., 127, 1597, 1909
Sparkman, John, 1828
Spector, Ivar, 696
Speed, F. W., 285
Spencer, Martin E., 36
Spender, Sir Percy C., 1895
Spiegel, Steven L., 37
Spiess, Herbert A., 541
Spinelli, Altiero, 1529
Spiro, Herbert J., 591
Spits, F. C., 1994
Spitzer, Dana, 793
Sprey, Pierre M., 1655
Sprigath, Gabriele, 1349, 1829
Springer, Donald L., 495
Sprudzs, Adolf, 1869
Spry, Graham, 528
Ständiges Internationales Komitee für die Anerkennung der DDR, 642
Stålvant, Carl-Einger, 1487
Stanley, Timothy W., 1278, 1293
Stairs, Denis, 565
Stanford University. Hoover Institution on War, Revolution, and Peace, 809
Stauffer, Paul, 38
Steel, Ronald, 643
Steele, Ronald, 609
Stegenga, James A., 1884
Stehlin, Paul, 286
Steibel, Gerald L., 1994
Stein, Eric, 870, 1923
Steinberger, Helmut, 353
Steinbuch, K., 745
Steinhaus, Kurt, 1349
Steiniger, Peter A., 1020
Steininger, Alexander, 1572
Steinkamm, Armin A., 1673
Steltzer, Hans G., 129
Stennis, John C., 1151, 1855
Stepan, Alfred, 332
Stephens, D. R., 1755
Stephens, Herbert W., 1830
Stern, Sol, 180
Stettner, Edward A., 519
Stevens, Richard P., 696
Stevens, Robert B., 1708
Stevenson, Hugh M., 1052
Stewart, J. A., 528
Stewart-Smith, Geoffrey, 130, 1714
Stibi, G., 938
Stigler, George J., 857
Stimson, Henry L., 342
Stinson, Hugh B., 474
Stirton, A. M., 1294
Stivers, R. E., 333
Stivers, William, 327
Stockholm International Peace Research Institute. See International Institute for Peace and Conflict Research
Stoel, Max van der, 1575
Stoleshnikov, A., 1434
Stone, I. F., 842
Stone, Julius, 693
Stoney, Paul R., 1295
Stourzh, Gerald, 1586, 1951
Strange, Susan, 858
Streithofen, Heinrich B., 594
Strong, A. E. G., 1735
Struckmeyer, Frederick R., 715
Struxness, E. G., 1016
Subrahmanyam, K., 2001
Sugai, Ryuichi, 1351
Suhrke, Astri, 40
Sullivan, A. E., 287
Sullivan, David S., 712
Sullivan, John D., 1881
Sullivan, John H., 400
Sullivan, Robert R., 962
Summers, Harry G., 1764
Sundberg, Jacob W. F., 354
Sundquist, Ulf, 642
Sutor, Bernhard, 912
Sutton, David, 1813
Svala, Gertrud, 1959
Sviatov, G., 1274
Svitak, Ivan, 519
Svoren, Velimir, 39
Swamy, Subramanian, 288
Swanborough, Gordon, 1757
Swanson, John R., 1674
Swanson, Roger F., 1677
Sweet, Miriam L., 702
Sweezy, Paul M., 1132
Swift, Richard N., 397, 1871
Swingle, Paul G., 1599
Syed, Aftab H., 158
Sykes, L. R., 994, 1003
Symonds, Richard, 898
Symposium on the International Regime of the Sea-bed, Rome (1969), 1529
Syrett, David, 1764
Syrstad, Oddveig, 322
Sztucki, Jerzy, 1529

T

Takane, Masaaki, 535
Takizawa, Yukio, 1351
Tamarin, Georges R., 1901
Tami, Thomas M., 1021
Tamplin, Arthur, 1337
Tanaka, Yasumasa, 1901
Tandon, Yash, 1388
Taniguchi, Harry, 1334
Tanter, Raymond, 356, 911
Targ, Harry R., 326, 1405
Tarr, Curtis, 289
Tarschys, Daniel, 475
Tatu, Michel, 1574, 1612, 1675, 2002
Taubenfeld, Howard J., 1871
Taubenfeld, Rita F., 1871
Taubinger, Laszlo M. von, 209, 810, 1297, 1756
Taylor, Alan R., 696
Taylor, Charles L., 1591
Taylor, George E., 1102
Taylor, Ian, 1043, 1487
Taylor, John W. R., 746, 1220, 1744, 1757, 2017
Taylor, Maxwell D., 290
Taylor, Michael, 416
Taylor, Telford, 334
Taylor, Trevor, 1944
Tedeschi, James T., 542
Teichmann, Max, 40
Telegadas, Kosta, 335, 1352
Teller, Edward, 342
Telpukhovskii, B. S., 291
Terchek, Ronald J., 931
Terhune, Robert W., 1354
Terman, Frederick E., 336
Terrell, Louis M., 1298
Terrill, Ross, 646
Terry, Janice, 696
Terzibaschitsch, Stefan, 208, 210, 694
Thant, U, 371, 374-375, 1389, 1857, 1886
Tharp, Paul A., 981
Thee, Marek, 1491, 1715
Theobald, Robert, 376
Theodoulou, Christos A., 1716
Therattil, Joseph J., 1591
Therené, P. 723
Thernstrom, Stephan, 512
Thiel, Elke, 292
Thole, Günther, 543
Thomas, A. J., 981
Thomas, Ann V., 981
Thomas, David, 1503
Thomas, John R., 131, 647, 1074
Thompson, G. D. Carlyle, 339

Thompson, Kenneth W., 356, 1067, 1372
Thompson, W. F. K., 1779, 1994
Thompson, William S., 876
Thomson, Dale C., 1676-1677
Thomson, George G., 811
Thomson, James C., 1102
Thornton, Richard C., 569
Thrall, Robert M., 794
Tibi, Bassam, 787
Tierney, James F., 1289
Tietz, Reinhard, 1816
Timmler, Markus, 398
Tinker, Jerry M., 1600
Todd, James E., 1373
Todd, Olivier, 1678
Tödt, Heinz E., 393
Toedtli, Sergej, 1758
Töpelmann, Gerhard, 695, 1152
Toffel, Norbert, 747
Tokonami, Tokuji, 599
Tolkunov, Lev, 476
Tolstoy, Leo, 388
Tompkins, E. Berkeley, 1895
Touscoz, Jean, 1880
Towpik, Andrzej, 1487
Toynbee, Arnold J., 696, 1372
Tracy, James L., 1831
Trager, Frank N., 132, 569
Trainor, William J., 342
Tran Van Dinh, 1355
Trebile, Jacques, 1679
Trevelyan, Humphrey, Baron Trevelyan, 1680, 1717
Trewhitt, Henry L., 293
Triesch, Günter, 594
Tripathi, K. S., 1299
Trivers, Howard, 1153
Tromp, Hylke, 1901
Trooboff, Peter D., 1871
Tropper, Richard, 1601
Truelle, J., 1463
Trukhanovskii, V., 134-135
Tsuchimoto, Taiso, 1327
Tsuji, Taeko, 852
Tucker, Robert C., 591
Tucker, Robert W., 1681
Tudyka, Kurt P., 1068
Tung, William L., 1372
Tunstead, J., 211
Turner, Ralph H., 1602
Turner, Stanley E., 1209
Tussing, A. Dale, 338, 648
Tuthill, John W., 544
Twain, Mark, 388
Twitchett, Kenneth J., 1257

U

Uhlmann, Ernst, 294, 813
Uliassi, Pio D., 1154
Ulsamer, Edgar, 1221, 1300-1301, 1759-1760
Ulstein, Egil, 1302
Ungerer, Werner, 430, 496
United Nations
  Department of Political and Security Affairs, 1857
United Nations--Continued
  Department of Political and Security Affairs--Continued
  Special Committee on Peacekeeping Operations, 1886
United Nations Association of the United States of America. National Policy Panel, 1886
United Nations Institute for Training and Research, 1591
United States
  Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, 489, 842, 1415, 1914, 1933
  Army Engineer Nuclear Cratering Group, 748, 1006, 1021
  Assistant Secretary of Defense (International Security Affairs), 1945
  Atomic Energy Commission, 723, 1023, 1761
    Nevada Operations Office
      Office of Effects Evaluation, 1007
      Peaceful Applications Division, 2018
    Technical Information Center, 1762
  Congress. House. Committee on Armed Services, 295-296, 1833
    Armed Services Investigating Subcommittee, 1303-1304
    Dept. of Defense Worldwide Communications Subcommittee, 1454
  Congress. House. Committee on Foreign Affairs, 136-137, 1924-1925
    Subcommittee on Africa, 138, 1882
    Subcommittee on Asian and Pacific Affairs, 1155, 1455
    Subcommittee on Europe, 1603
    Subcommittee on International Organizations and Movements, 1391-1392
    Subcommittee on National Security Policy and Scientific Developments, 400, 814, 982, 1356
    Subcommittee on the Near East, 181
  Congress. House. Committee on Government Operations. Legislation and Military Operations Subcommittee, 1357
  Congress. House. Select Committee on United States Involvement in Southeast Asia, 297
United States--Continued
  Congress. Joint Committee on Atomic Energy, 212, 1222
    Subcommittee on Research, Development, and Radiation, 1538
  Congress. Joint Economic Committee. Subcommittee on Economy in Government, 1358, 1858
  Congress. Senate. Committee on Aeronautics and Space Sciences, 1523, 2011
  Congress. Senate. Committee on Armed Services, 697, 1305, 1975
    Preparedness Investigating Subcommittee. Electronic Battlefield Subcommittee, 213
    Subcommittee on General Legislation, 1306
  Congress. Senate. Committee on Foreign Relations, 815, 842, 1156-1158, 1682, 1926, 1947, 1976-1978, 2010
    Subcommittee on Arms Control, International Law and Organization, 450, 1008, 1429
    Subcommittee on United States Security Agreements and Commitments Abroad, 298
  Congress. Senate. Committee on Government Operations. Subcommittee on National Security and International Operations, 1450-1451, 1456
  Congress. Senate. Committee on the Judiciary. Subcommittee to Investigate the Administration of the Internal Security Act and Other Internal Security Laws, 1604
  Dept. of Defense, 1683
    Defense Security Assistance Agency, 1946
  Dept. of State, 737, 1159
  Dept. of the Army, 545, 1834
  Environmental Protection Agency. Western Environmental Research Laboratory. Environmental Surveillance Program, 859
  General Accounting Office, 1359, 1947
  Library of Congress
    Congressional Research Service, 1604, 2011
    Science Policy Research Division, 1964, 1974
  Treaties, etc. Russia (U.S.S.R.) (May 26, 1972), 1979

Unnithan, T. K. N., 1069
Unser, Günther, 1572
Urquidi, Donald, 1410
Ushiba, H. E. Nobuhiko, 650, 816, 1160

V

Väyrynen, Raimo, 41, 1934
Van Atta, Richard, 1906
Van Dyke, Jon M., 860
Van Dyke, Vernon, 1372
Van Ness, Peter, 651
Van Wagenen, Richard W., 898, 1884
Vandenbosch, Amry, 652
Vander Els, Theodore, 299
Varma, Shanti P., 653
Varsavskii, C. M., 914
Vautrey, Louis, 726
Vendryes, Georges, 726
Vennema, Alje, 1962
Venter, Al J., 1307
Verba, Sidney, 329
Verdery, Richard N., 696
Verfürth, Heinz, 1718
Vernant, Jacques, 817, 1605
Vernikos-Danellis, Joan, 1031
Vernon, Raymond, 1606
Verwey, Wil D., 1406
Vidiasova, L. M., 577
Vigor, P. H., 300
Viktorov, V., 451
Vilmar, Fritz, 910, 915, 939
Vincent, Jack E., 1607
Visotskii, V., 983
Visser, W. J. A., 916
Vital, David, 1586, 1719, 1951
Vladimirov, IU., 139
Vladimirov, V., 1360
Vlasic, Ivan A., 1362, 1530
Voevodsky, John, 1736
Vogel, Karl-Michael, 1014
Volchok, Herbert L., 1337
Volskii, D., 698
Vorobiev, I. N., 713
Vortman, L. J., 1009
Voslenskii, M. S., 577, 1515
Vought, Donald B., 337
Vratuša, Anton, 377
Vukadinović, Radovan, 452, 654, 861, 1161, 1586

W

Wade, Nicholas, 862
Wadsworth, James J., 1539
Wägner, H., 487
Wagenberg, R. H., 639
Wagner, David G., 1393
Wagner, Wolfgang, 140, 699, 1053, 1685
Wahby, Mohammed, 1720
Waiblinger, Hans L., 991
Waines, David, 182, 696
Wajima, Eiji, 599
Walden, Mathias, 71
Walder, Leopold O., 13, 1566
Waldheim, Kurt, 423
Waldman, Eric, 1994
Walker, Sir Augustus, 1779
Walker, Charles C., 1886
Walker, Richard L., 43, 569, 1102
Wallach, Jehuda L., 700
Wallau, Theodor, 1965
Wallerstein, Immanuel, 586
Walsh, John, 1430
Walsh, Lawrence, 843
Walsh, Maurice N., 1196
Walter, Eugene V., 512
Walters, Richard H., 1999
Walton, Richard E., 1708
Waltz, Kenneth N., 29, 37
Warner, Lawrence M., 388
Warnock, John W., 301
Warth, Robert D., 1728
Warwick, Donald P., 917
Washburn, A. Michael, 1407, 1913
Waterkamp, Rainer, 1608
Watkins, Ralph J., 1227
Watt, Alan, 505
Watt, D. C., 183, 1162
Weber, Jürgen, 1516
Weeks, Albert L., 818, 863
Wegener, Edward, 1835
Weidemann, Diethelm, 1737
Weinstein, Martin E., 302
Weisband, Edward, 1243
Weisl, Wolfgang von, 1721
Weiss, Edward S., 339
Weiss, George, 214
Weiss, Melford S., 793
Weiss, Peter, 1235
Weisz, Heinz L., 1308
Weizsäcker, Carl F., Freiherr von, 919, 941, 1057, 2024
Welch, Annemarie S., 1059
Welch, Bruce L., 1059
Welch, Claude E., 1318
Welch, William, 1163
Wells, Robert D., 749
Wendte, Michael, 1394
Weng, Byron S. J., 1883
Wenger, Paul W., 594
Wensauer, Horst, 819
Werbik, Hans, 1595
Werkheiser, Don, 1435
Wermuth, Anthony L., 864
Werth, Glenn C., 726, 865, 1223, 1540
Wesson, Robert G., 372
Westing, Arthur H., 1962
Westmoreland, William C., 215, 1836
Weston, Burns H., 1362
Wette, Wolfram, 1197
Wettern, Desmond, 820
Wettig, Gerhard, 329, 1057, 1572
Weyel, Volker, 340
Weyl, R., 642
Weymann, Konrat, 1309
Wheeler, V. E., 1224
Whelan, Joseph G., 2011
Whetten, Lawrence L., 304, 821, 1310, 1686
White, Clayton S., 1024
White, Ralph K., 329, 591
Whiteside, Thomas, 434
Whiting, Allen S., 356, 656, 1102
Whitlam, Gough, 141
Whitson, William W., 569, 1655
Whitt, Darnell M., 1517
Wick, Gerald, 1541
Wickes, Thomas A., 1708
Wieck, Hans-Georg, 1518
Wienand, Karl, 1938
Wiener, Friedrich, 216, 1225
Wiesner, Jerome, 825
Wilcher, Marshall E., 992
Wilcox, Walter, 1196
Wild, Patricia B., 981
Wildavsky, Aaron, 586
Wildhaber, Luzius, 892, 1862
Wilensky, Norman M., 1913
Wilkes, Daniel, 1361
Williams, Alan L., 1311, 1994
Williams, Harry, 505
Williams, Stanley L., 1625
Williams, Walter L., 1893
Williams, William A., 591, 1909
Willrich, Mason, 1361, 1470, 1763, 2012
Wilson, Clifton E., 1869
Wilson, David, 64, 453
Wilson, Theodore A., 1913
Wilson, Warner, 546
Wilson, William, 642
Wimmer, Hans, 547
Windchy, Eugene G., 1312
Windsor, Philip, 1722
Winiewicz, Józef, 477, 1519
Winpisinger, William, 1321
Winter, Jacques H. M. de, 1575
Wirsing, Giselher, 1572
Wirth, Günter, 1457
Wisniowski, Janusz A., 2004
Wittig, Peter, 1862
Wördehoff, Bernhard, 1520
Wohlstetter, Albert, 29
Wolf, Charles, 767
Wolfe, Douglas A., 1860
Wolfe, James H., 657, 1165
Wolfe, Thomas W., 142, 305, 1074, 1456, 1980
Wolfers, Arnold, 29
Woller, Rudolf, 823
Wood, Peggy, 338
Wood, Robert S., 1884
Woodward, David R., 504
Working Group on European Co-operation and Security, Oslo, Geneva (1971), 2005
World Council of Churches, 1896
Wormington, Serena, 1042
Wortley, B. A., 1863
Wouw, Joke M. van, 867
Wragg, David W., 1226
Wriggins, Howard, 424

Wright, Christopher, 356
Wright, Quincy, 911, 1067, 1069, 1871
Wrong, Dennis H., 341
Wu, Grace, 1227
Wu, Yuan-li, 569, 1227, 1687
Wünsche, Renate, 543, 1737
Wyatt, Woodrow, 1190
Wyle, Frederick S., 1837
Wyzanski, Charles E., 388

Y

Yager, Joseph A., 505
Yahuda, Michael B., 1688
Yale, W. W., 306
Yalem, Ronald J., 1408, 1609
Yamada, Hisanari, 599
Yebio, B., 1610
Yelenin, I., 1859
Yochelson, John, 1314
Yoder, Jon A., 1913
Yoerg, Robert, 1348
York, Herbert F., 403
Yost, Charles W., 45
Young, Elizabeth, 485
Young, Kenneth T., 540, 658
Young, Louise B., 342
Young, Oran R., 891, 1611, 1884
Younger, Kenneth G., 1396, 1575
Yu, Chong-yŏl, 659

Z

Zacher, Mark W., 1884
Zador, Heinrich, 185, 701, 1191
Zagladin, Vadim, 660
Zahn, Gordon C., 391
Zarb, Antoine H., 1880
Zarcone, Vincent P., 1348
Zausmer, Otto, 519
Zawodny, J. K., 911
Zeller, Willy, 1521
Zemanek, Karl, 867
Zheludev, I. S., 726
Zhudro, Andrey K., 1529
Zhukov, G. A., 577
Ziebura, Gilbert, 143
Zile, Zigurds L., 2019
Ziman, John, 1353
Zinkin, Maurice, 1723
Zinn, Howard, 1132
Zinnes, Dina A., 911
Zook, Benjamin, 1074
Zürcher, E., 1069
Zumwalt, Elmo R., 307
Zurick, Elia T., 1901
Zwenig, Frances A., 308

[Numbers 1-504 refer to entries in vol. 8, no. 1; 505-1024 to vol. 8, no. 2; 1025-1552 to vol. 8, no. 3; and 1553-2031 to this issue.]

SUBJECT INDEX

[Numbers refer to entries.]

A

ADDITIONAL PROTOCOL II TO THE TREATY FOR THE PROHIBITION OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS IN LATIN AMERICA, 1933
ADJUSTMENT OF THE UNITED STATES ECONOMY TO REDUCTIONS IN MILITARY SPENDING [BERNARD UDIS], 1345
AEROSPACE INDUSTRY, Common Market, 1214
AFRICA
  arms control, 977
  arms trade, 1940
  border dispute resolution, 1708
  Communist Chinese influence, 1086
  foreign policy and relations
    developing states, 543
    French successor states, 32
  guerrilla movements, 1726
  military regimes, 787
  nuclear-free zone, 1928
  Organization of African Unity, grievance commission (proposed), 1870
  political instability, 1052
  regional integration, 30
    southern Africa, 1989
  summit conference (1971), 1388
  U.N. role, 1882
  U.S. policy, 138
  Western European influence, 1594
AFRICA AND DISARMAMENT [ALHAJI SULE KOLO], 1928
AGGRESSION. See under Conflict
AGREEMENT ON THE COMMUNICATION OF TECHNICAL INFORMATION FOR DEFENSE PURPOSES (1970), 737
AGREEMENTS. See Treaties, agreements, etc.
AIR DEFENSE SYSTEMS
  North American Air Defense Command (NORAD), 1787
  United States, 1303-1304
AIR FORCES, United States, 1832
AIRCRAFT, 1220, 1226, 1229, 1744, 1757
  Anglo-German collaboration, 736
  France, 740
  helicopters, 207
  Navy, 1745
  reconnaissance, 2017
  Sweden, 1202
  United States
    B-1 bomber, 725, 741, 1748
    C-5A, 205
    F-14, 1749
    F-111, 214
    P-36 Orion, 1742
AIRCRAFT CARRIERS, 1741, 1796
AIRPOWER
  criticism, 299
  strategy, 265
ALBANIA, foreign policy and relations, 1137
ALGERIA, foreign policy and relations, France, 176
ALLIANCES, 277
  behavioral analysis, 31
AMERICAN SECURITY COUNCIL, 1344
ANGLO-FRENCH NUCLEAR MARITIME FORCE (PROPOSED), 1819
ANGLO-GERMAN NAVAL AGREEMENT (1935), 1907
ANTARCTIC TREATY (1959), 481, 1933, 1986
ANTHROPOLOGY, aggression, 901
ANTIMISSILE DEFENSE SYSTEMS
  effectiveness, 734
  limitation, 439
  Soviet Union, 1301
    SAM upgrade, 742
  United States, 1229
    deployment debate, 206, 722, 794, 862
    Safeguard, 719, 732, 1429, 1482
ANTIMISSILE SYSTEMS LIMITATION TREATY (1972), 1229, 1773, 1933, 1970, 1972-1973, 1975-1979
  economic effects, 1971
  executive branch support, 1968
ANTISUBMARINE WARFARE, 1199, 2029
  detection, 201
  limitation, 2029
  See also Submarine
APPADORAI, A., bibliography, 1067
ARAB-ISRAELI DISPUTE. See under Middle East and North Africa
ARAB STATES
  foreign policy and relations
    Communist China, 1689
    Israel, 159
  pan-Islam, 684
ARMED FORCES
  comparative data, 260, 1823
  decline of mass army, 1729
  modern role, 854
  national service programs, 251, 1264
  Sino-Soviet confrontation, 1710
  weapons systems dictionary, 1208
  See also specific country
ARMS AND ARMAMENTS, 216, 313, 1746
  artillery, 1758
  bibliography, 1192, 1423
  comparative data, 260, 1823
  dictionary, 1208
  embargo, Middle East, 426
  expenditures, impact on development aid, 939
  France, 203
  future infantry rifle, 191
  Israel, 190
  laser weapons, 716, 738
  NATO, 743
  navy in the 1970's, 196
  Nigerian civil war, 1462
  nuclear balance, 1967

ARMS AND ARMAMENTS--Continued
reduction or elimination, 406-407, 409, 419, 444, 468, 974, 1060, 1390, 1411, 1421-1422, 1430, 1435, 1552, 1894, 1922, 1934, 2022
Africa, 977
Anglo-German Naval Agreement (1935), 1907
antimissile defense systems, 412
Asia, 458
British Fellowship Party, 1904
Communist China, 930
conventional weapons, 413
documents, 1929-1932
Eastern Europe, 305
economic effect, 842, 1542, 2023
effect of technology, 21
effect on deterrence, 438
Europe, 408, 1420, 1569, 2000
European security conference (proposed), 466
European security pact, 1500
history, 402, 518, 1410-1412, 1415, 1419, 1427, 1912
Latin America, 474
legal restraints in agreements, 1923
mathematical analysis, 919
Mediterranean area, 1503
mobile offensive forces, 489
NATO policy, 258
peace education, 900
peace research, 1440, 1901
Pugwash Conference, 925
Romanian policy, 418, 1927
seabed, 485
Seabed Treaty (1971), 991, 2010
simulated negotiations, 1417
social science role, 411
Soviet policy and proposals, 22, 104, 415, 417, 920, 928, 952-953, 1020, 1424, 1434
Soviet-U.S. proposals, 1919
strategic arms, 193, 436, 446, 841, 1418, 1968-1969
See also Strategic Arms Limitation Talks
strategic stability, 447
technological change, 924
United Kingdom, 1920
U.N. role, 363, 374, 1020, 1377
U.S. policy and proposals, 1682, 1926
World Peace Council meeting (1971), 1953
See also Mutual and balanced force reductions
standardization, NATO, 264
trade and dissemination, 941, 944, 1459-1460, 1943-1944
Africa, 767, 1928, 1940
arms pool of neutrals, 1458
civil wars, 1941
control, 1942
developing states, 1461
Eastern bloc to Third World, 946
economic impact on donor state, 1358
France, 724, 740, 1207, 1463
indigenous construction of warships, 945
Indo-Pakistani conflict (1971), 942
Latin America, 1266
Portuguese Africa, 1939
South Africa, 1307
Soviet Union to
Arab states, 755
Pakistan, 1067
United Kingdom to South Africa, 425
United States
policy, 943, 1945, 1947
to Asia, 829
to Pakistan, 663
United States, 790, 1336
FY 1972, 259, 295
loan of naval vessels, 1306
troop withdrawals from Europe, 1103
Warsaw Pact states, 1225
See also specific type
ARMS AND INSECURITY [LEWIS F. RICHARDSON], 416
ARMS RACE, 17, 313, 1421, 1426, 1797, 1901
Cuban missile crisis effect on, 156
economic and social consequences, 1857
mathematical analyses, 919, 1795, 1853, 1916
Soviet-U.S. competition, 193, 315, 404, 440, 706, 761, 1140, 1272, 1418, 1429, 1479, 1482, 1788, 1919, 1966
strategic weapons deployment, United States, 450
two-adversary model, 921
U.S. role, 200
ARMS TRADE OR ARMS TRAFFIC. See under Arms and armaments
ASIA
Australian role, 1286
balance of power, 505, 587, 811, 1118, 1703, 1705
Chinese role, 1089
developing states, policy toward, 543
great-power policies, 40, 153, 1571
India, relations with, bibliography, 103
Japanese role, 621, 650
nuclear weapons proliferation, 780, 1949
security, 1079, 1553
South Korean role, 659
U.S. role, 782
strategic economic position, 508
U.N. peacekeeping forces (1946-1967), 1890
U.S. military assistance, 829
ATOMIC BOMB CASUALTY COMMISSION, bibliography, 1316
AUSTRALIA
defense policy and programs, 258, 767, 1286
Asia, 1239
military service, 784
Papua-New Guinea, 792
foreign policy and relations, 83, 85, 562, 613, 1122
Asia, 505, 640
Japan, 614
Pacific area, 141
United States, 1107
AUSTRIA
defense policy and programs, 773, 808
guerrilla warfare, 775
foreign policy and relations, 91, 423, 1123
United Nations, 892
State Treaty (1955), 964
AVENOL, JOSEPH, 1878

B

BALANCE OF POWER, 29, 239, 260, 524, 1060, 1560
Asia, 458, 1703-1705
bipolar system, 6
Europe, 1413
games and gaming, 1607
Indian Ocean area, 717, 1697, 2001
multipolar system, 1065, 1559-1560
negotiations, effect on, 1456
northern Europe, 803
nuclear deterrence, 1425
pentarchical system, 1065, 1594
polycentric system, 1578
restoration of defeated states, 1545
Soviet Union, 753
Soviet-U.S. balance, 406, 1262, 1919
arms control, 1427
strategic weapons, 1273
tripolar system, 571, 580, 1026, 1100, 1572
See also Strategic balance
BALKAN STATES, 183, 579, 692
BANGLADESH, 1723, 1866
See also Pakistan; Indo-Pakistani conflict
BEHAVIORAL ANALYSIS
aggression, 8, 13, 502, 901, 911, 1595
chemical inhibitors, 392
arms control and disarmament, 411, 416
cold war, 522
crisis, 1038
decisionmaking, 10
international conflict, 27, 1045, 1052, 1589, 1593
international understanding, 541
intimidation, 1576
military power, 1298
physiological, 35
psychiatric conciliation research, 1404
public opinion, 55
technological action, 1558
war, 1196
BELLIGERENT REPRISALS, 1369
BERLIN, 57, 140, 499, 680
blockade, U.N. role, 362
documentation of tension, 1701
legal position, 1094
negotiations, 682, 699
Quadripartite Agreement (1971), 162, 172, 972, 975, 983, 1055, 1182, 1449, 1663, 1709, 2002
BIAFRA. See under Nigeria
BIBLIOGRAPHIES
arms and armaments and developing states, 1423
Atlantic Alliance, 576
Atomic Bomb Casualty Commission papers, 1316
behavioral analysis, arms control and disarmament, 416
Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 1030
civil-military relations, 1798
civil war, 1728
communism, 1604
Communist China, 545
study and teaching, 649
European integration, 457
Hoover Institution collections, 809
BIBLIOGRAPHIES--Continued
impact of war on United States, 1338
Indian foreign policy and relations, 103
mutual and balanced force reductions, 1494
Nigerian civil war, 1730
North Korea, 1834
nuclear explosions, underground, 1007
ocean and seabed, 1337, 1529
peace, visual aid, 384
Plowshare Project, open file, 1023
Rand Corporation, 1590
Sino-Soviet dispute, 1711
Soviet Union, foreign policy and relations, 629
treaties, 1869
U.N. peacekeeping forces, 1889
Vietnam war (October 1968-September 1969), 709
warfare, primitive, 1192
Wright, Quincy, 1372
BIOLOGICAL AGENTS, 1476
ban, draft convention, 431-432, 1472
Chinese Communist view, 1383
ban resolution of microbiologists, 914
British view, 1920
Soviet policy, 1960
U.N. Assembly debate, 24th session, 954
U.S. policy, 296, 1471, 1473, 1475
conversion, 498
BIOLOGICAL WEAPONS CONVENTION (1972), 1933, 1960-1961, 1963
BOTSWANA, southern African federation (proposed), 1989
BOULDING, KENNETH, 1913
BOUNDARIES, INTERNATIONAL, Sino-Indian dispute, 1183, 1693. See also specific states
BRANDT, WILLY, 1084, 1768
BRAZIL
armed forces, 1842
civil-military relations, 332
foreign policy and relations, Latin America, 552
BREZHNEV, LEONID, 644

C

CAMPAIGN FOR NUCLEAR DISARMAMENT, 1910
CANADA
defense policy and programs, 301, 1825
civil defense, 1294
North American Air Defense Command (NORAD), 1787
disarmament policy and proposals (1970), 922
exchange agreements with Soviet Union, 1106
foreign policy and relations, 82, 565, 589, 1025, 1619
Foreign Policy Papers (1971), 1677
United States, 639, 1657, 1676
CARIBBEAN AREA, Soviet Union, 799
CHEMICAL AGENTS, 433, 1476
American Association for the Advancement of Science, 1964
British view, 1920
Communist Chinese view, 1383
draft ban, 1472
elimination, 1963, 1965
Soviet policy, 1960
2-chloroBMN (CS), 1206

CHEMICAL AGENTS--Continued
U.N. Assembly debate, 24th session, 654
U.S. policy, 296, 434, 1473-1474
Vietnam war, 1471, 1475, 1962
See also Herbicides
CHINA, PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF, 539, 556, 1051
armed forces, 727, 1710
Air Force, 209
Navy, 810
bibliography (1966-1971), 545
border dispute with Soviet Union, 112, 173, 679
defense policy and programs, 242, 296, 757, 759
decisionmaking, 243
India, 1284
defense research and development, 735
disarmament policy and proposals, 923, 929
biological and chemical agents, 1383
comprehensive nuclear test ban treaty, 1544
five-power nuclear disarmament conference, 420
nuclear-free zones, 1438
Soviet view, 930
foreign policy and relations, 4, 62, 86, 106, 141, 153, 242, 569, 646, 1102, 1553, 1688
Africa, 1086, 1645
Asia, 581, 1571, 1695, 1703
British public opinion, 55
Chou, En-lai, role, 632
Communist countries, 596
developing states, 1026
Eastern Europe, 131, 183, 566
European Economic Community, 1620
Germany, 1095
Himalayan kingdoms, 179
India, 598, 653, 1183, 1618, 1693
Indian Ocean neutralization, 1437
Indo-Pakistani conflict (1971), 170, 1189
Indo-Soviet Friendship Treaty (1971), 1098
Mongolia, 1146
Nationalist China, 1080, 1180
Near East, 1689
peacekeeping forces in Cyprus, 1395
Peking summit (1972), 66, 121, 608, 1081, 1100, 1658, 1696
"popular diplomacy," 1091
revolutionary movements, 651
Southeast Asia, 668
Soviet Union, 165, 249, 527, 676, 1070, 1075, 1166, 1170, 1142, 1637, 1711
superpowers, 533, 1574, 1675, 1687
United Nations, 147, 360, 368, 885, 1090, 1375, 1383, 1396, 1875, 1883
United States, 46-47, 49, 53, 67-68, 90, 108, 124, 126, 238, 524, 568, 592, 595, 624, 649, 656, 698, 1054, 1079, 1111, 1113, 1116, 1142, 1150, 1469, 1615, 1623, 1625, 1631, 1642, 1644, 1651, 1655, 1659, 1699
West Germany, 615-616
ideology, Soviet view, 1653
international law, 1867
leadership succession, 1139
legitimacy, 1630
militarization, 1859
CHINA--Continued
nuclear policy and programs, 229, 260, 429, 610, 780, 1227, 1242, 1246, 1469, 1756, 1826
self-reliance, 288
Strategic Arms Limitation Talks, 453
war tactics and peace strategy, 1267
CHINA, REPUBLIC OF
foreign policy and relations
accommodation with Communist China, 1080, 1180
United States, 1155
geostrategic importance, 624
Taiwan plebiscite, 152
CHOU, EN-LAI, 632
CHRISTIAN CENTURY, outlawry of war (1924-1933), 1911
CHRISTIANITY, view of peace, 1896
CIVIL DEFENSE, 1331, 1814
Canada, 1294
Soviet Union, 1237, 1250
CIVIL-MILITARY RELATIONS
Africa, 787
bibliography, 1798
Brazil, 332, 1842
civic action programs, 772
Communist China, 242, 1859
democratic industrialized society, 274
developing states, 1318
domestic determinants, 1298
Greece, 1330
Latin America, 1289
sociological analysis, 864
Soviet Union, 1236, 1799
United Kingdom, 1731
West Germany, 251, 330, 830, 835, 1014
Switzerland, 294, 303
CIVIL WAR, 1728
arms trade and dissemination, 1941
CIVILIAN DEFENSE. See under Nonviolence
COLD WAR, 518, 522, 580, 933, 1270, 1557, 1603, 1909
revisionist thesis, 98
United States, 645
COLONIALISM
behavioral analysis, 1
Uganda, 340
COMMAND AND CONTROL, military communications systems, 936, 1439, 1449, 1454
COMMUNICATION, INTERNATIONAL, 23
conflict resolution, 937, 1408
COMMUNISM, 367, 1047, 1114
Arab States, 684
bibliography, 1604
divisive tendencies, 7
Sino-Soviet rift, 145, 679, 1653
Soviet Union, 257
threat to world peace, 1054
view of capitalism, 509
COMMUNIST STATES, 1636
Chinese relations with, 596
Eastern Europe
European security conference (proposed), 469
relations with China, 566
Soviet influence, 74
COMPREHENSIVE TEST BAN TREATY. See Nuclear Test Ban Treaty (1963)

CONFERENCE OF THE COMMITTEE ON DISARMAMENT, 926-927, 1414, 1915, 1965
chemical and biological agents, 1963
biological weapons convention, draft, 432
Romanian proposals, 418
U.S. objectives, 1921
CONFERENCES. See names of specific conferences
CONFLICT, 37, 42, 394, 512, 1041, 1551
aggression, 11, 13, 20, 513, 525, 869, 901, 909, 1036
chemical inhibitors, 392, 897, 1042
anger, role, 537
behavioral analysis, 27, 36, 39, 302, 529, 911, 1045, 1052, 1196, 1589, 1593
causes, 1, 8, 14, 532, 1031, 1033, 1563, 1566, 1570, 1577
developing states, 34
domestic patterns, 1555
dynamics, 523
education, 503
games and gaming, 531, 542, 546, 1565, 1599, 1607
historical peace research, 1550
integrative and divisive beliefs in group crises, 1602
international law, 1364
lesser powers vs. great powers, 1719
management, 1067, 1361
physiological correlates, 1059
primitive, 1725
psychiatric research, 1404
religion, 1398
resolution, 349, 386, 506, 511, 895, 905, 1385, 1408, 1436, 1901, 1936
both-pay-auction model, 1601
effects of communicating threats and promises, 1561
intermediaries' role, 1611
Middle East case study, 1175
Somali-Ethiopian-Kenyan border dispute, 1708
third party consultation, 1568
social exchange theory, 1588
social policy role, 1135
sociology, 1049
study and teaching, 894, 1057, 1608
See also Violence
CONFRONTATION, 33
CONGO, DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF THE. See Zaire, Republic of
CONSCIENTIOUS OBJECTION. See Military service
CONVENTIONAL WAR. See under Warfare
CONVENTIONAL WEAPONS
credible ground deterrent, 1817
reduction or elimination, 413
trade and dissemination, 1942
See also Arms and armaments
CONVENTIONS. See Treaties, agreements, etc.
CONVERGENCE THEORY, 1048, 1556
CONVERSION. See under Defense industry
COUNCIL OF EUROPE, 1516
COUNTERINSURGENCY. See under Warfare
CRISIS MANAGEMENT, 1038
integrative and divisive beliefs in group crises, 1602
World War I, 1567
CUBAN MISSILE CRISIS, 156
CYPRUS, 1690, 1707, 1716, 1936
U.N. peacekeeping force, 379, 1395-1396, 1885
CZECHOSLOVAKIA
foreign policy and relations, 102, 1613
European security, 978
West Germany, 125
Soviet intervention, 111, 519

D

DECISIONMAKING, 514, 546, 870, 1064, 1135, 1846
behavioral mechanisms, 1038
Communist China, 243
foreign policy, 10
military role, 555
simulation, 1201
intelligence, 570
mathematical modeling, 1547
operational research, 279
Pentagon Papers, 1339, 1635
quantitative analysis vs. statecraft, 9
Soviet Union, 198, 1211, 1439
stress levels, 1852
United Nations, 1373
United States
Central Intelligence Agency, 244
Congress, 73
Council on Foreign Relations, 612
foreign policy, 564, 590, 1109, 1153, 1256, 1339
National Security Council, 443, 572, 607
scientists' role, 825
disarmament, 1428
Vietnam war, 75, 575
war power, 1629
World War I, 1567
DECLARATION ON THE STRENGTHENING OF INTERNATIONAL SECURITY (1970), 363
DEFENSE CUTBACKS
economic effect, 2023
United States
aerospace unemployment, 1321
effect on research, 312, 336, 831, 1010
West Germany, tanks, 202
DEFENSE INDUSTRY
profits, 318, 857, 1357
South Africa, 1307
United States, 316, 863, 1543
economic conversion, 240, 325, 498, 842, 853, 1010, 1321, 1345, 1542, 2026
DEFENSE INDUSTRY PROFIT STUDY [U.S. GENERAL ACCOUNTING OFFICE], 1357
DEFENSE PROCUREMENT
United States, 199, 1807, 1858
C-5A-Galaxy, 205
F-14, 1749
DEFENSE RESEARCH AND DEVELOPMENT
arms control agreements, 1416
Communist China, 735, 1227
cost analysis, Project Hindsight, 733
international cooperation, 1820
laser weapons, 1738
marine science, 211
moral and ethical aspects, 832
Soviet Union, 1301

DEFENSE RESEARCH AND DEVELOPMENT--Continued
superpower expenditures, 195, 255
United States, 1154, 1215
Air Force, 1760
Army FY 1972, 1212
funding, 1321
Mansfield amendment (1969), 1346
naval undersea programs, 480
Vietnam war, 730
world aircraft, 1744
DEFENSE SPENDING, 1857
comparative figures, 260, 1823
effect, 842, 851, 1335, 1543, 2020, 2022
economic effect, 1857
developing states, 1839
West Germany, 1840
political relationship and public need, 1804
Soviet Union, 317, 841, 1279, 1980
United Kingdom, 858
United States, 255, 259, 295-296, 320, 840, 1329, 1336, 1350, 1822, 1844, 1853, 1855, 2021
arms control implications, 450
Congressional appropriations, 236, 1830
NATO financing, 292
Vietnam war, 778, 1843
weapons acquisition process, 1858
DETECTION. See under Inspection and verification
DÉTENTE, 233, 470, 549, 1037, 1043, 1182, 1490, 1994
Balkans, 579
Europe, 1420, 1506, 1517, 1722
function of arms control negotiations, 1427
influence on U.S. policy in Arab-Israeli dispute, 1191
NATO role, 221, 695
nonalined states, 1662
relationship to deterrence, 1453
Scandinavia, 52
West Germany, 122, 1669
Yugoslavia, 1092
See also Berlin; East-West relations; European security conference (proposed)
DETERRENCE, 412, 761-762, 765, 854, 1273, 1320, 1773, 1776, 1983, 1991
arms control, 1479
Europe, 1780
friend-foe relationship, 1453
ideology, 707
mathematical analyses, 1795
multipolar nuclear system, 1816
Nixon Doctrine, 1802
political consequences, 2024
Soviet policy, 1918
Strategic Arms Limitation Talks, 1919
sufficiency doctrine, 1788
Switzerland, 1778
threat systems, 662
U.S. Strategic Air Command role, 281
See also Strategy
DEVELOPING STATES, 1591
armed forces and development, 1842
arms and armaments, 1423
arms trade, 1943-1944
attitude toward peacekeeping operations, 1888
Communist China, 18
DEVELOPING STATES--Continued
Communist China--Continued
U.N. membership, 885
Communist influence, 7, 543
economic effect of defense spending, 1839
foreign aid, 939
military role, 1318
petroleum, Soviet view, 2
self-determination, 345
superpower competition, 1406
United States, 16
violence, 34
world order, 370, 1058
DIPLOMACY, "popular diplomacy," 1091
DISENGAGEMENT
United States from
Europe, 1335
Southeast Asia, 297, 1441
DOD SPONSORED RESEARCH AT STANFORD [STANFORD WORKSHOP ON POLITICAL AND SOCIAL ISSUES], 1346
DRAFT. See Military service
DRUMMOND, SIR ERIC, 1878

E

EARTHQUAKES, discrimination from underground explosions, 999, 1531, 1535, 1541, 2014, 2016
EAST-WEST RELATIONS, 18, 97, 221, 233, 1048, 1053, 1060, 1290, 1562
cold war interaction, 522
Europe, 5, 1050, 1570, 1987, 2002
foreign relations, 1297
NATO role, 536
Quadripartite Agreement (1971), 667
realinement, 1559
superpowers in Europe, 1043
Warsaw Treaty Organization, 250
See also Détente
ECOLOGY
marine environment, 181
world order, 896
ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT, developing states, 1839
ECONOMIC EFFECT OF DEFENSE EXPENDITURES. See Defense industry; Defense spending
ECONOMIC EFFECT OF DISARMAMENT, 2020-2021, 2023, 2026
Strategic Arms Limitation Talks, 1971
EGYPT. See United Arab Republic
ELECTRONIC BATTLEFIELD, 213, 1194, 1241
ENTHOVEN, ALAIN C., 226
ESCALATION, 750
games and gaming, 1607
See also Nuclear escalation
EUROPE
arms race, 1426
balance of power, 1297, 1413, 1572
Balkan states, realinement, 692
British role, 1614
disarmament, 2000
division, 5
integration, 18, 28, 277, 321, 395, 459, 461-462, 467, 530, 576, 908, 967-968, 970, 1028, 1066, 1082, 1486-1487, 1491, 1511, 1562, 1585, 1668, 1670, 1767
bibliography, 457
Council of Europe, 1516

EUROPE--Continued
integration--Continued
East-West economic relations, 1050
nuclear aspects, 1258
Scandinavia, 52
Swiss role, 1990
Western Europe and North Africa, 465
nuclear balance, 1254
peace, 1569
security, 26, 122, 178, 233, 270, 304, 408, 410, 460, 463, 466, 468, 471, 519, 544, 669, 971, 1037, 1133, 1145, 1182, 1245, 1247, 1257, 1277, 1490, 1495, 1499, 1501, 1504-1505, 1508, 1515, 1517, 1579, 1605, 1722, 1784, 1837, 1981, 1983, 1997
Anglo-French nuclear cooperation, 1819
arms control, 1934, 2000
British role, 1489
Communist view, 670
Czechoslovak proposals, 978
deterrence, 1780
East-West cooperation, 1938
economic cooperation, 1513
European Economic Community, 1521
France, 819, 1794
Germany, 1506
integrated defense, 768
legal questions, 1992
NATO, 268
proposals, 1500, 2003, 2005
Quadripartite Agreement (1971), 2002
renunciation of force, 1497
Scandinavian states, 1302
Soviet policy, 577, 1492, 1648, 1984-1985, 2004
Strategic Arms Limitation Talks, 1477
tactical nuclear arms limitation, 1480
U.S. troop withdrawal, 79, 1103, 1253, 1282
U.S. view, 405, 1782
Western European confederation, 1110
Western European nuclear force, 1258, 1686
Soviet arms limitation aims, 1074
Soviet-U.S. relations, 1043
tactical nuclear weapons, 1233
world role, 536, 1578, 1633
See also European security conference (proposed)
EUROPEAN ECONOMIC COMMUNITY, 395, 530, 1082, 1110, 1486, 1521
aerospace industry, 1214
Communist Chinese view, 1620
defense implications of United Kingdom entry, 548
expanded political role, 58, 1143
Luxemburg Report, 462
Scandinavia, 52
West Germany, 601
world order, 1521
EUROPEAN SECURITY CONFERENCE (PROPOSED), 18, 91, 140, 414, 455, 463, 466, 470-471, 473, 476, 660, 974, 976, 978-980, 1066, 1110, 1182, 1290, 1320, 1484-1485, 1488, 1493, 1496, 1499, 1501-1502, 1504-1505, 1508-1509, 1517, 1520, 1579, 1669-1670, 1981, 1988, 1992-1993, 1995-1996, 1999, 2005
arms control, 1934
Austria, 469
EUROPEAN SECURITY CONFERENCE--Continued
Communist view, 1991
Finland, 973
game plan, 1510
Germany, 1506
mutual and balanced force reductions, 1495, 1924, 1988
nonalined states, 906
Poland, 477, 1519
Pugwash endorsement, 1134
renunciation-of-force agreement, 1497
Romania, 1133
Socialist view, 980
Soviet Union, 626, 1492, 1984-1985, 2004
U.N. Secretary General, 371
Warsaw Treaty declaration, 1488
West Germany, 971, 1143, 1493
See also Mutual and balanced force reductions

F

FACTIONALISM, 1564
FEDERATION OF SOUTHERN AFRICA (PROPOSED), 1989
FERMEDA WORKSHOP, BRESSANONE, ITALY (1969), 1708
FINLAND
foreign policy and relations, Soviet Union, 56
neutrality, 464
FLEXIBLE RESPONSE DOCTRINE, 1425, 1779
FORCE, USE OF, games and gaming, 1607
FOREIGN POLICY
categorical analysis, 1666
cost-tolerance, 1592
decisionmaking
military role, 555
simulations, 1201
influence of international system, 1654
intimidation, 1854
military power, 555
success-monitoring, 1632
theoretical analysis, 10
U.S. State Department reform, 564
verbal strategy, 1243
FRACTIONAL ORBITAL BOMBARDMENT SYSTEM (FOBS), Soviet Union, 1759
FRANCE
aerospace industry, 740
armed forces, 280, 1810
proposed Anglo-French nuclear force, 1258
arms trade and dissemination, 1207
defense policy and programs, 286, 1794
foreign policy and relations, 638, 1623, 1626
Africa, 32, 176
Europe, 1585, 1616
Mediterranean area, 93
Soviet Union, 97, 139, 660, 1672
United States, 619
West Germany, 143
nuclear policy and programs, 819, 1204, 1263
cooperation with United Kingdom, 283
information exchange with United States, 1755
weapons tests, 487
weaponry, 724

G

GAMES AND GAMING
arms control and disarmament, 416
Strategic International Relations, Nuclear Exchange Model (SIR NEM), 497
arms race, 921
both-pay-auction model, 1601
conflict, 1401, 1565, 1607
European security conference (proposed), 1510
foreign policy decisionmaking, 1201
international relations, 1032
mixed-motive bargaining, 1442
multiparty conflicts, 1589
power, illusory, 1599
prisoner's dilemma game, 511, 531, 546
"ritual warfare," 1899
simulations, threat paradigm, 542
social exchange in a three-person game, 1588
tripolar system, 1609
trucking game, effects of communicating threats and promises, 1561
two-person, analysis of factors, 520
GASBUGGY PROJECT. See Plowshare, Project
GAULLE, CHARLES DE, 619
GENERAL AND COMPLETE DISARMAMENT, 1299, 1412, 1431-1432, 1434, 1917
Africa, 1928
Communist China, 929
documentation, 1929-1932
economic effect, 2020
Japanese peace movement, 913
Soviet Union, 1915
world disarmament conference (proposed), 1935
GENOCIDE, 1033
GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC
armed forces, 246, 807
defense policy and programs, rearmament, 1803
foreign policy and relations, 760, 1152
peace program, 1457
Quadripartite Agreement (1971), 582, 593
West Germany, 1627
international recognition, 625, 642, 1685
legal status, 347
NATO intentions, 695
nuclear policy, 938
strategic position, 305
U.N. membership, 605, 1381, 1877
GERMANY
division, 347, 617, 1506, 1517
effect of defense spending, 1840
enemy-state clauses, 1363
postwar history, 363, 1177
Quadripartite Agreement (1971), 972, 975
reunification, 1073, 1088, 1987
two-state concept, 611
United Nations, 1654, 1661
See also Berlin
GERMANY, FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF, 1805
armed forces, 247, 251, 284, 330, 830, 854
combat mission, 1309
conscientious objection, 1231
Navy, 196
operation research, 279
professionalism, 823
GERMANY, FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF--Continued
civil-military relations, 835
defense policy and programs, 743, 1019, 1238, 1255, 2024
battle tank, 1774
burden sharing, 1319
ground forces' strategy, 1817
rearmament, 1270, 1803
U.S. military presence, 1818
White Paper (1970), 1249
defense research and development, 197
détente, 1722
Eastern European expellees, reconciliation, 907
education for democracy, 912
European role, 1585
foreign policy and relations, 58, 105, 559
Asian and Pacific areas, 1144
Communist China, 57, 615, 1095
cultural affairs, 129
East Germany, 347, 514, 602, 642, 657, 1083, 1685, 1987
Eastern Europe, 69, 71, 78, 88, 96, 122, 130, 353, 558, 631
Eastern Treaties, 184, 631, 690, 1020, 1628, 1640, 1670, 1673
European security conference (proposed), 1669
France, 143
Oder-Neisse, 603
Ostpolitik, 560, 594, 601, 636, 1073, 1085, 1094, 1165, 1638, 1668, 1686, 1714, 1768
Peking Summit (1972), 623
Poland, 1663
Quadripartite Agreement (1971), 593
Soviet Union, 119, 553, 1672
United Nations, 551, 1093, 1877
GREAT BRITAIN. See United Kingdom
GREAT POWERS, conflict with lesser powers, 1719
GREECE
foreign policy and relations, 579
Communist neighbors, 183
GUERRILLA WARFARE. See under Warfare

H

HAMMARSKJÖLD, DAG, 1878
HELICOPTERS, 207
HERBICIDES, 1964
U.S. policy, 434
Vietnam war, 1475, 1962
HINDSIGHT, PROJECT, cost analysis, 733
HOT LINE AGREEMENT (1971), 937, 1022, 1523, 1933

I

ICELAND, NATO role, 1251, 1815
IDEOLOGY
decline, 535
nuclear strategy, 707
INDIA
boundaries, 1693
defense policy and programs, 269, 458
Indian Ocean, 217, 801

INDIA--Continued
foreign policy and relations, 1076, 1131
bibliography, 103
Communist China, 170, 273, 598, 653, 1183, 1284
Indo-Soviet Friendship Treaty (1971), 133, 1098, 1125, 1647
Himalayan kingdoms, 179
Pakistan, 149, 154, 158, 273, 663, 674, 1189-1190
Sino-Soviet dispute, 1618
Soviet Union, 567, 641, 1723
superpowers, 254
United States, 1723
nuclear policy and programs, 429, 948, 950-951, 1466-1467
weapons acquisition, 1464, 1949
INDIAN OCEAN AREA, 132, 175, 217, 811
balance of power, 1697
great powers, 40
Indian view, 801
neutralization, 424, 965, 2001
U.N. resolution (1971), 1437
Sino-Soviet competition, 144, 1166
South African role, 1776
Soviet naval penetration, 717, 1269
U.S. interests, 982
INDONESIA, domestic violence, 34
INDO-PAKISTANI CONFLICT (1971)
arms used, 942
global effect, 1695
See also Pakistan; India
INDO-SOVIET FRIENDSHIP TREATY (1971), 567, 1098, 1125, 1647
INSPECTION AND VERIFICATION, 493, 1411, 1416, 1539
Antarctic Treaty (1959), 481
comprehensive nuclear test ban, 79, 994-996, 999, 1003, 1008, 1548
detection
underground nuclear explosions, 486-488, 490, 492, 501, 994-999, 1003, 1531-1532, 1534-1535, 1537-1538, 1541, 2013, 2016
Benham explosion, 993
radiation measurement, 988
research and development, 2015
World-Wide Network of Standard Seismograph Stations, 1001
International Atomic Energy Agency, 428, 430, 496
mobile offensive weapons, computer program, 489
particle accelerators, 494
reconnaissance, 2017
safeguards, 726, 1468, 1470
satellites, 1533, 1746
Strategic Arms Limitation Talks, 244
Soviet legal system, 2019
Trinidad Project, 1009
See also Nuclear Test Ban Treaty (1963)
INSURGENCY. See under Warfare
INTELLIGENCE, 570
foreign technology, 731
Presidential access, 769
reconnaissance, 2017
INTERGOVERNMENTAL OCEANOGRAPHIC COMMISSION, 365
INTERNATIONAL ATOMIC ENERGY AGENCY
Nonproliferation Treaty (1968), inspection procedures, 496
safeguards, 428, 430, 726
Second Panel on the Peaceful Uses of Nuclear Explosions (1971), 723, 1750
U.S. statement at General Conference (1971), 1004
INTERNATIONAL COMMITTEE OF THE RED CROSS, 1898
INTERNATIONAL COURT OF JUSTICE, 1385
INTERNATIONAL DISARMAMENT ORGANIZATION (PROPOSED), 1533
INTERNATIONAL LAW, 355, 693, 868, 871, 873, 1067, 1362, 1364, 1371-1372, 1374, 1397, 1868
adjudication, 1865
aggression, definition, 869
armed conflict, 344, 380, 1365, 1367
arms control agreements, legal restraints, 1923
belligerent reprisals, 1369, 1861
bibliography, 1030
biological and chemical agents, 1471
collective security, 1864
Communist China, 1867
conflict management, 1361
economic intervention, 1406
effectiveness of decisions, 870
human rights, violations, 350
International Peace Court (proposed), 1368
intervention, 1575
just war doctrine, Arab-Israeli dispute, 702
ocean and seabed, 482, 987, 990, 1522, 2007-2008
Organization of American States, 349
Ostpolitik, 1094
outer space, 985, 989, 1530, 2011
peaceful coexistence, 1394
piracy, privateering, guerrilla war, 354
prisoners of war, 1370
renunciation of force, 1862
Seabed Arms Control Treaty (1971), negotiation, 991
self-determination, 345
East Pakistan, 158, 1866
Soviet doctrine, 50, 351
treaties, 352, 875, 1366
study and teaching, 1869
United Nations
decisionmaking, 1373
membership for the Germanys, 1877
peacekeeping, 348
Vienna Convention on the Law of Treaties (1969), 867, 874
war crimes, 324, 334, 341, 827, 839, 850, 860, 872
West Germany's Eastern Treaties, 353, 690
World Conference on World Peace Through Law (1971), 876
Wright, Quincy, 356
INTERNATIONAL LAW COMMISSION, 1863
INTERNATIONAL NUCLEAR PEACEKEEPING ORGANIZATION (PROPOSED), 879
INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATION, 361, 377, 868, 870, 898, 1067, 1386, 1874, 1881, 1884, 2031
Communist view, 367
constitutions, 1366
maintenance of peace, 364, 1385

INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATION--Continued
nongovernment, 1378
nuclear peacekeeping, 879
peace research, 1382
regional, 981, 1378
security commissions, 883
Soviet legal doctrine, 351
world government, 1376
INTERNATIONAL PEACE COURT (PROPOSED), 1368
INTERNATIONAL PEACE RESEARCH ASSOCIATION, third general conference (1969), 1901
INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS, 3, 24, 29, 44, 109, 284, 515, 576, 1029, 1040, 1056, 1061, 1067-1068, 1390, 1551, 1573, 1605, 1881, 1894, 2031
"age of deadlock," 1903
analytical approach, 1597
arms race, 17
behavioral analysis, 14, 27, 541
bibliography, 1030
Communist Chinese analysis, 1584
Communist countries, 1636
cultural exchange, 917
ethics, 1905
European system, 1981
factionalism, 1564
lesser powers, 41, 1586, 1591
linkage model, 81
middle power, 19
multinational corporations, 1587
multipolar system, 1559, 1674
nonalinement, 1662
peace research, 1901
power analysis, 1554
religion, 916
restoration of defeated states, 1545
scenario for 1980, 526
simulations, 1032
Soviet view, 15
study and teaching, 346, 1017
interdisciplinary, national security, 788
peace education, 1407
peace research, 1057
superpower role, 1598
tension, 1570
threat systems, 662
transnational actions, influence, 904
tripolar system, 1609
U.S. research policy, 1154
world order, 370, 1034, 1397
INTERNATIONAL SECURITY. See Security, international
INTERVENTION, 586, 866, 1132, 1575
Czechoslovakia (1968), 111, 519
economic aid, 1406
superpowers, 33
IRAN, foreign policy and relations, 550
ISRAEL
armed forces, 190, 276
Navy, 701, 797
defense policy and programs, 227, 697
flexible response, 774
foreign policy and relations, 1621
Arab States, 159, 182
United States, 1147
world image, 1167
human rights violations, 350
military aid to Uganda, 340
ISRAEL--Continued
nuclear policy and programs, weapons acquisition, 1949, 1956
peace preparations, 677

J

JAPAN, 1044
armed forces, 302, 1230
defense policy and programs, 253, 275, 458, 650, 763, 791, 816, 958
peace movement, 913
rearmament, 263, 1240
defense spending, 1785
economic relations with Communist China, 1097
foreign policy and relations, 59, 153, 606, 1072, 1622
Asia, 621, 1703
Communist China, 124
Korea, 1649
Sino-American rapprochement, 1634
Southeast Asia, 620
Soviet Union, 1164
United States, 80, 561, 1104, 1160
nuclear policy and programs, weapons acquisition, 1949, 1958
JAPANESE-U.S. SECURITY TREATY (1951), 302
JORDAN, army reorganization, 1168

K

KASHMIR DISPUTE, 1190
KELLOGG-BRIAND PACT (1928), 1911
KISSINGER, HENRY A., 572, 607, 1651, 1678
arms control role, 443
KOLKO, GABRIEL, 98
KOREA, 587, 661
importance to Japan, 1649
reunification, 1181, 1446, 1705
KOREA, DEMOCRATIC PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF, bibliography, 1834
KOREA, REPUBLIC OF
foreign policy and relations, 1126
Asia, 659
U.N. membership, 1380
KRIEGSFOLGEN UND KRIEGSVERHÜTUNG [KARL F. VON WIEZSÄCKER], 938, 1320, 2024
KRIPPENDORF, EKKEHART, 98

L

LAOS, 1937
effect of U.S. bombing, 192
insurgency, 688
LASER WEAPONS, 716, 738, 1738
See also Arms and armaments
LEAGUE OF NATIONS, 1385
mandated areas and territories, 364
secretary-general, 1878
LESSER POWERS, 38, 1586
conflict with great powers, 1719
nuclear policy and programs, weapons acquisition, 1951, 1955
LESTER, SEAN, 1878
LIE, TRYGVE, 1878

LIMITED ARMS CONTROL MEASURES, 403, 927, 1468
antimissile defense systems, 1970, 1972, 1975, 1977-1979
antisubmarine warfare, 401, 1199, 2029
Asia, 458
Canada, 922
history, 352, 402, 415, 1412
missiles, 439
naval treaties, 955
nuclear-free zone, Latin America, 474
Soviet intentions, 1074
technology, 21, 404, 924
United Nations, 918
See also specific subject, e.g., Biological Weapons Convention (1972)
LIMITED WAR, economic strategy, 1843
LONDON NAVAL CONFERENCES (1930, 1936), 955
LONDON NAVAL TREATY (1936), 1409

M

McNAMARA, ROBERT S., 293
MALIK, JAKOB A., 1383
MALTA, strategic importance, 817
MAO, TSE-TUNG, 1139
MEDIATION, 902, 1936
intermediaries' role, 1611
third-party consultation method, 1568
MEDITERRANEAN AREA, 1512
arms control, 1503
naval presence, 163, 675, 692, 701, 821, 1772, 1793
strategic situation, 116, 174, 785, 1707
MELMAN, SEYMOUR, 226
MIDDLE EAST AND NORTH AFRICA, 677, 1717
Arab-Israeli dispute, 159, 161, 180-182, 665, 687, 691, 696-697, 1141, 1175, 1185, 1187, 1692
Arab confederation, 171
Arab radical socialism, 684
Arab view, 164, 168, 683, 1720
armed reprisals, 1861
arms embargo, 426
balance of forces, 1191
Bologna conference, 2025
influence of superpowers, 151
just-war doctrine, 702
nationalism, 1712
occupied areas, 146, 350, 664
Palestinian liberation movements, 169, 1698
peace research theory, 1175
prospect for renewed warfare, 1721
public opinion, 1167
settlement, 150, 155, 167, 386, 390, 693, 873, 1184
Soviet Union, 160, 174, 185, 755, 1174, 1186
United States, 672, 1171, 1176, 1713
Communist China, 1689
guerrilla warfare, 700
Jordan, 1168
petroleum, 148
Soviet Union, 1173, 1178, 1646, 1652, 1700
Trucial States, 685
U.N. peacekeeping forces (1946-1967), 1890
U.S. policy, 1127, 1147, 1684
See also Mediterranean area; specific states

MILITARISM, 1854
bibliography, 1798
Christianity, 1062
Greece, 1330
Japan, 263, 275, 1240
Latin America, 1289
United States, 337, 1315
West Germany, 1014
MILITARY AID, United States, 1828, 1945-1947
MILITARY BALANCE. See Balance of power
MILITARY HISTORY, British Staff College, 282
MILITARY-INDUSTRIAL COMPLEX, 313, 842, 861, 1854
American Security Council, 1344
psychological aspects, 2027
South Africa, 1307
Soviet Union, 841
Soviet-U.S. competition, 1851
United States, 205, 240, 316, 863, 1315, 1360
West Germany, 1238
MILITARY PROFESSION, 1791
democratic, industrialized society, 274
sociological analysis, 1259
Soviet Union, 1236
United States
all-volunteer force, 1790
role in foreign policy, 1769
MILITARY SERVICE, 287, 1014
all-volunteer force, 306, 764, 1764, 1836
Australia, 784
conscientious objection, 893, 1231
decline of mass army, 1729
Switzerland, national service for women (proposed), 1264
United Kingdom, 230
United States, 241, 1248, 1806
MISSILES, 1746
aircraft mounted, 1744
antiship countermeasures, 1218
Communist China, intercontinental ballistic missile development, 1756
comparative survey, 746, 1745
France, 203, 1204, 1463
trade and dissemination, 1207
limitation, 439, 919
Soviet Union
first-strike capability, 804
intermediate range, 747
Navy, 1740
SAM upgrade, 742
undersea long-range system, 1753
United States, 200
Safeguard system, 719
Short Range Attack Missile (SRAM), 1221
See also Antimissile defense systems
MONGOLIA, Sino-Soviet relations, 1146
MOON. See Outer-Space Treaty (1967)
MORRISON, CHARLES CLAYTON, outlawry of war (1924-1933), 1911
MOSCOW SUMMIT (1972), 1612
MOSCOW TREATY (1970), 78, 88, 140, 184, 353, 603, 617, 631, 1094, 1182, 1485, 1640
Communist Chinese view, 616
legal ramifications, 1673
MULTINATIONAL CORPORATIONS, 1587
national security role, 1606

476-851 O - 72 - 8

MULTIPLE INDEPENDENTLY TARGETABLE REENTRY VEHICLES, 1261, 1272, 1429, 1482, 1773
deployment, limitation, 493, 1919
MUTUAL AND BALANCED FORCE REDUCTIONS, 58, 405, 410, 414, 419, 454, 456, 470, 472, 547, 1252, 1290, 1414, 1420, 1425, 1485, 1495-1496, 1498, 1501, 1514, 1517-1518, 1520, 1837, 1982, 1985, 1993, 1998
agenda, 1789
asymmetry, 2000
bibliography, 1494
European security conference (proposed), 1495, 1669, 1988
French view, 1616, 1794
Germany, 1506
mathematical analysis, 966
NATO, 781
United States, 1130
West Germany, 560, 971, 1019, 1818
Western European apprehension, 1514

N

NAMIBIA, southern African federation (proposed), 1989
NATIONAL ACADEMY OF SCIENCES, military research policy, 1856
NATIONAL COUNCIL FOR PREVENTION OF WAR, 389
NATIONALISM, 528, 1903
Arab-Israeli dispute, 1712
Germany, 1177
NAVIES, 1745
comparative data, 1823
Mediterranean area, 821
Soviet Union and the United States, 208, 307, 1781, 1827
NATO, 210
nuclear strategy, 1835
small warship design trends, 744
See also specific countries
NEGOTIATIONS, 38, 933, 1451, 1551
arms control and disarmament, 927, 1430
Communist Chinese view, 420
balance of power, 1456
Berlin, hypothetical Soviet-Western positions, 699
certainty-equivalent model, 1452
East-West, 419
Korean reunification, 1446
London Naval Treaty (1936), 1409
mixed-motive bargaining, 1442
prisoners of war, 1356
restoration of defeated states, 1545
simulations, 1417
Soviet Union, 1450
See also specific topic
NEOCOLONIALISM. See Colonialism
NEPAL, foreign policy and relations, 179
NEUTRAL STATES, Swedish-Swiss-Austrian arms pool (proposed), 1458
NEUTRALISM
Africa, 398
Balkan states, 183
U.N. role, 892
NEUTRALITY, 1037, 1994
armaments pool of neutrals, 813
arms control negotiations, 1934
Austria, 423, 808
NEUTRALITY--Continued
Austria State Treaty (1955), 964
European integration, Soviet doctrine, 475
Finland, 262, 464
military posture, 1784
Sweden, 578
NEUTRALIZATION
Indian Ocean, 424, 1437, 2001
Laos, 1937
Mediterranean area, 1512
Southeast Asia, 1718
NEW ZEALAND
defense policy and programs, 261
foreign policy and relations, 1121-1122
Asia, 505
Southeast Asia, 597
NEW ZEALAND INSTITUTE OF INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS ANNUAL CONFERENCE (1969), 1122
NIGERIA
armed forces, 262
civil war, 1462, 1730, 1941
NIXON, RICHARD M., 1624
NIXON DOCTRINE, 101, 1145, 1441
Navy role, 752
See also United States of America
NOBODY WANTED WAR [RALPH K. WHITE], 188
NONALINED STATES, 933, 1662
European security conference (proposed), 906
NONVIOLENCE, 222, 383, 512, 893
civilian defense, 1013, 1402, 1901
social change, 1600
NORTH, ROBERT, 1038
NORTH AMERICAN AIR DEFENSE COMMAND (NORAD), 1787
NORTH ATLANTIC ASSEMBLY (1970), 815
NORTH ATLANTIC OCEAN AREA, Iceland's strategic role, 1815
NORTH ATLANTIC TREATY ORGANIZATION, 268, 277, 301, 410, 544, 1253
bibliography, 576
British commitment, 220, 1765
communications systems, 1448
Communist view, 670
defense policy and programs, 266, 1247, 1277
aircraft (F-111), 214
comparison with Warsaw Pact, 256
financing, 292, 1293, 1319
flexible response, 270, 1779
mutual and balanced force reductions, 454, 1252
northern flank, 237, 803
southern flank, 671
U.S. troop withdrawal, 79, 286, 1282, 1789
disarmament policy and proposals, 258
East-West cooperation, 221, 1938
environmental concern, 992
European defense pact, 1650
European integration, 1767
European security, 1983
European security conference (proposed), 455, 1996
Iceland, 1251, 1815
naval strength, 210, 1827
nonmilitary collaboration, 321
nuclear weapons, 1233
tactical arms, 228, 1254
Ostpolitik, 96, 1668
Portuguese role, 1939

NORTH ATLANTIC TREATY ORGANIZATION--Continued
research and development, international cooperation, 1820
Secretary-General Luns (interview), 781
Sino-American rapprochement, 547
standardization of arms, 264
strategic reserve, 789
Supreme Headquarters Allied Powers Europe (SHAPE), 278
technical information agreement (1970), 737
U.S. Air Forces in Europe (USAFE), 1244
U.S. policy, 405, 1145, 1259-1260, 1314, 1335
West German public opinion, 1805
West Germany, Eastern Treaties, 1638
world role, 536
NUCLEAR ACCIDENTS AGREEMENT (1971), 937, 1022, 1933
NUCLEAR DISARMAMENT CONFERENCE (PROPOSED), 417
Communist China, 420, 923, 947
Soviet program, 952
U.N. action, 940
NUCLEAR ENERGY
peaceful uses, 726, 748, 844, 938, 1006
Nonproliferation Treaty (1968), 496
particle accelerators, 494
safeguards. See under Inspection and verification
Soviet Union, 949
NUCLEAR ESCALATION, prevention, 1309
NUCLEAR EXPLOSIONS
effect, 323, 491, 1205, 1327, 1343, 1536
Atomic Bomb Casualty Commission bibliography, 1316
nuclear excavation research, 826, 859, 1024
peaceful uses, 723, 844, 1217
gas stimulation, 856, 1219, 1354
radiation estimation, 1203
Soviet Union, 865
See also specific project, e.g., Plowshare Project
NUCLEAR EXPLOSIONS, UNDERGROUND
Amchitka, 194
ban, 501
bibliography, 1007
Cannikin, 1534
detection and measurement, 486, 488, 490, 994-999, 1003, 1531-1532, 1535, 1537-1538, 2013-2016
Benham explosion, 993
World-Wide Network of Standard Seismography Stations, 1001
dolomite, 1540
effect, 1015
geological strains, 720
estimating risk, 846
Packard effects test, 1224
peaceful uses
seismic damage estimation, 1216
Soviet Union, 1000
United States, 2028
radioactive leakage, 491
United States, 495, 1222
See also specific project, e.g., Plowshare Project
NUCLEAR-FREE ZONES
NUCLEAR-FREE ZONES--Continued
Africa, 1928
Indian Ocean, 424, 2001
inspection and verification by satellite, 1533
Latin America, 1438
NUCLEAR NONPROLIFERATION TREATY (1968), 427, 477, 1468, 1933, 1954
East Germany, 938
IAEA safeguards system, 428, 430
superpower role, 1957
Swedish view, 1959
Switzerland, 1465
NUCLEAR REACTORS, breeder, 1209
NUCLEAR STRATEGY, 1299
Europe, 408, 1254
flexible response, 1779
France, 1263
ideological restraint, 707
mathematical analyses, 1795
multipolar system, 1816
sufficiency doctrine, 1788
United Kingdom, 1811
U.S. nongovernment strategists, 1268, 1800
NUCLEAR TEST BAN TREATY (1963), 931, 996, 1008, 1974
extension to underground testing, 486, 488, 501, 1008, 1534-1535, 1538-1539, 1541, 1548-1549, 1965, 2014
Swedish view, 1959
U.N. draft resolution, 1544
See also Inspection and verification
NUCLEAR WAR
accident safeguards, 932
combat tactics, 713
effect, 1331, 1342
Atomic Bomb Casualty Commission bibliography, 1316
Europe, 1511
probability, 409
NUCLEAR WEAPONS, 342, 521, 852, 1823
acquisition
lesser powers, 1951, 1955
nonmilitary reasons, 1950
Anglo-French cooperation, 548, 1819
Atomic Energy Commission budget (FY 1973), 1228
ban, Latin America, 474
Communist China, 610, 727, 1242, 1246, 1826
European strategic force, 270, 1686
India, 254, 1466
international control, 879
Israel, 1956
Japan, 263
legality of use, 1868
limitation in Europe, 1480
Nuclear Exchange Model, 497
seismic effect, 1211
Soviet-U.S. competition, 315
tactical arms, 44, 228, 1233, 1758
United Kingdom, 1811
United States, 1222
appropriations FY 1973, 1198
in Okinawa, 252
nongovernment strategists, role, 1268, 1800
weapons production process, 849

NUCLEAR WEAPONS TESTS
Communist China, 1544
effect, 1351
ocean and seabed, 1337
radiation, 335, 339, 847, 1326, 1333, 1352
seismic microbarology, 487
hazards, 849
United States, 309, 1222
NUREMBERG AND VIETNAM: AN AMERICAN TRAGEDY [TELFORD TAYLOR], 850

O

OCEAN, 986, 1528-1529
legal control of new technology, 1522
militarization, 211, 480, 1808, 1835
Northern Cap, 1664
peaceful uses, 343, 479, 482-483, 990, 1362, 1525, 2006, 2008
pollution, draft convention, 987
research, 1199
U.S. policy, 1526-1527
See also Seabed; Seabed Arms Control Treaty (1971)
OPERATIONS RESEARCH SOCIETY OF AMERICA, ABM deployment controversy, 794, 862
ORGANIZATION OF AFRICAN UNITY, 1388
grievance commission (proposed), 1870
guerrilla movements, 1726
ORGANIZATION OF AMERICAN STATES, peaceful settlement of disputes, 349
OUTER-SPACE TREATY (1967), 989, 1523, 1933
supplementary proposals, 2009
See also Space

P

PACIFIC OCEAN AREA
great powers, 40
regional development, 43
strategic situation, 811
Washington Conference on the Limitation of Armaments (1921-1922), 1908
PACIFISM, 388, 715, 893, 905, 1904
PAKISTAN
East Pakistan crisis, United States, 655
foreign policy and relations, 1148
Communist China, 170
India, 674
Indo-Pakistani conflict (1971), 144, 147, 149, 154, 158, 598, 663, 673, 681, 942, 1189, 1866
PALESTINE CONFLICT. See under Middle East and North Africa
PARTICLE ACCELERATORS, 494
PASSIVE RESISTANCE. See Nonviolence
PEACE
achievement and maintenance, 388, 394, 516, 532, 1197, 1398, 1406-1407, 1432, 1436, 1546, 1894-1895
conflict management, 1361
culture, 129, 917
education, 384, 503, 900, 915
international law, 352, 871, 1371, 1374, 1865
International Peace Academy, 382
International Peace Court (proposed), 1368
lesser powers, 1586
PEACE--Continued
achievement and maintenance--Continued
mediation, 902
moral-ethical approach, 1011, 1905
nonviolence, 383
regional security commissions, 883
religion, 113, 391, 916, 1403, 1896
research, 911
scientific contacts, 500
study and teaching, 1017
world order, 896
bibliography, 809, 1030
challenges, 1511
computer warfare, 1899
Europe, 1569
International Red Cross, 1898
Israel, effect, 677
renunciation of force, 1862
Soviet proposals, 1552
world government, 1376
"PEACE AND SECURITY IN EUROPE AND ALL-EUROPEAN COOPERATION," 26
PEACE MOVEMENT
Arab-Israeli dispute, 2025
Japan, 913
outlawry of war (1924-1933), 1911
revolution against war, 387
United Kingdom, Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament, 1910
United States, 389, 402, 1913
drug use and peace attitudes, 1399
Vietnam war termination, 329
PEACE RESEARCH, 234, 394, 412, 899, 905, 910, 915, 1038, 1045, 1057, 1372, 1382, 1400, 1589, 1724, 1901, 1906
aggression theory, 909
Arab-Israeli dispute, 1175
conflict sociology, 1049
cost-tolerance, 1592
disarmament, 1440
educational theory, 399
European cooperation, 1487
historical approach, 1550
international organization and war, 1382
International Peace Research Association (1969), 1901
intimidation, 662
methodology, 1039
mobilization, 234
moral and ethical aspects, 391, 393, 396
Northern Ireland, 1694
political involvement, 1902
psychiatric contribution, 1404
radical critique, 1897
social change, 1405
stress levels in decisionmaking, 1852
study and teaching, 894, 1407
"war and peace personalities," 2027
war, causes, 703, 1196
Wright, Quincy, 356
PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE, United Nations, 1394
PEACEKEEPING FORCES
Canada, 301
counterinsurgency, 1731
superpower roles, 1888
United Nations, 262, 348, 359, 375, 378-379, 397, 1886-1887, 1889-1891, 1893-1894
Congo, 1892

PEACEKEEPING FORCES--Continued
United Nations--Continued
Communist China, 1395
Cyprus, 1396, 1885
financing, 1387
world nuclear organization, 879
PENTAGON PAPERS, 421, 623, 825, 1339, 1635, 1683
PERMANENT COURT OF INTERNATIONAL JUSTICE (1920-1945), 1385
PERSIAN GULF, strategic importance, 685, 1691
PETROLEUM, role in world politics, 2
PLOWSHARE, PROJECT, 846, 1000, 1002, 1222-1223, 1750
bibliography, 1023
Buggy Project I, 1018
canal excavation, 1762
gas stimulation, 856
Gasbuggy Project, ground water, 1005, 1016
Gondola II, 748
Gondola III, 1006
information exchange, 1755
Milrow, 492
Palanquin Project, radioiodine in cows, 828
Rulison Project, 2018, 2030
Schooner Project, 1021
environmental surveillance program, 859
Far-Fallout Collection Program, 1021
POLAND
foreign policy and relations, 100
European security conference (proposed), 1519
Germany, 1663
West Germany, 603
Warsaw Treaty (1970), 585
POLITICAL SCIENCE
multinational corporations, 1587
obsolescence of the state, 521
revolutionary model, 1035
teaching in West Germany, 912
PONTIFICAL COMMISSION JUSTICE AND PEACE, 1896
POPULATION, Communist China, 173
POPULATION EXPLOSION, 1553
PORTUGAL, NATO role, 1939
POWER (CONCEPT), 385, 542, 1029, 1554
costs, 507
games and gaming, 1599
PRISONERS OF WAR, 1356
PROLIFERATION OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS, 427, 1025, 1469, 1816, 1912
Asia, 780, 1949
civil nuclear programs, 1470
India, 948, 950-951, 1464, 1466-1467
Israel, 1956
Japan, 958, 1622, 1958
lesser powers, 1951, 1955
nonmilitary reasons, 1950
nuclear guarantees, 1952, 2012
prevention. See Inspection and verification
See also Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty (1968)
PROPAGANDA, West Germany, 830
PSYCHIATRY
aggression inhibitors, 392
analysis of Vietnam war experience, 837
PUBLIC OPINION, 926
PUBLIC OPINION--Continued
American Security Council, 1344
arms technology, 1245
Communist China, 55
foreign news, 1063
media role, 290
peace opportunities, 1034
United States
drug use and peace attitudes, 1399
knowledge about Soviet Union, 1596
national security policy, 864
United Nations, 880
Vietnam war, 310, 326, 329, 538
"world citizen responsibility" test, 1610
world situation 2000 A.D., 1432
PUGWASH CONFERENCE ON SCIENCE AND WORLD AFFAIRS, 500, 914, 960, 1134, 1922
consequences of defense spending, 2020, 2022

Q

QUADRIPARTITE AGREEMENT (1971), 554, 557, 582, 593, 667, 678, 686, 689, 972, 975, 983, 1055, 1182, 1449, 1663
See also Berlin

R

RADIATION
biological effect, 826, 1317, 1838, 1849
hazards, 1016
nuclear excavation, 1217
RADIOACTIVE FALLOUT, 1333-1334, 1860
Buggy Project I, 1018
distribution, 322, 335, 342, 491, 847, 1326, 1347, 1352, 1841
effect, 828, 1340, 1351
measurement of debris, Soviet-U.S. methods, 988
Nagasaki, 852
ocean and seabed, 1337
protection, 838
underground nuclear explosions, 1203
RAND CORPORATION, bibliography, 1590
RAPOPORT, ANATOL, 899
RECONNAISSANCE, 2017
REFUGEES, EXPELLEES, 696, 907
REGIONALISM, 1065
Southeast Asia, 1507, 1718
southern Africa, integration (proposed), 1989
REVOLUTION, 186, 708
bibliography, 809
Communist Chinese doctrine and policy, 651
nonviolent means, 900
permanent model, 1035
RICHARDSON, LEWIS F., 416, 1916
ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH. See Vatican City
ROMANIA
disarmament policy and proposals, 418, 1927
foreign policy and relations, 473, 637
Communist states, 1096
European security, 1133
ROSENAU, JAMES N., 81, 111
RULISON, PROJECT. See Plowshare, Project
RUSSETT, BRUCE M., 226

S

SADAT, ANWAR, 1667
SAFEGUARDS. See under Inspection and verification
SATELLITES, 1213
  inspection and verification, 1533, 2017
  Satellite Early Warning System (SEWS), 739
SCANDINAVIAN STATES
  foreign policy and relations, Soviet Union, 1641
  security, 1302
SCHOONER, PROJECT. See under Plowshare, Project
SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY, 515, 1353, 1362, 2031
  arms control, 924
  Communist China, 735, 1227
  comparative evaluation, 21, 195, 204
  control system, 745, 1200
  Europe, 968, 970
  foreign policy, 117
  infantry tactics, 770
  international development, 914
  military intelligence, 731
  naval defense, 211
  public policy, 342
  scientific manpower, 312, 336
  Soviet Union, 187, 195, 198
  state support, 853
  weapons development, 730
  world peace, 500
SCIENTIFIC-MILITARY RELATIONS, 1322, 1332, 1353
  United States, 1856
SCIENTISTS
  decisionmaking in United States, 825
  moral responsibility, 722, 832, 1353, 1850
  U.S. disarmament role, 1428
SEABED, 990, 1529, 2006
  international law, 482-483, 1522, 1525, 2008
  U.S. policy, 1526-1527
SEABED ARMS CONTROL TREATY (1971), 479, 484-485, 991, 1524, 1933, 2007, 2010
SEAPOWER, 1745, 1808
  East-West comparison in Mediterranean area, 785
  Japan, 791
  naval armaments, 210
  small warship design, 744
  Soviet Union, 721, 783
  Soviet-U.S. competition, 1781
  submarine role, 771
  United Kingdom, 822
  United States, 1256
    tactical deterrence, 1300
SECURITY, INTERNATIONAL, 363, 891, 1257, 1582, 1893
SECURITY, NATIONAL, multinational enterprise role, 1606
SECURITY, REGIONAL
  Asia, 458, 659
  commissions, 770
  European institutionalization, 2005
  Mediterranean area, 1512
  Southeast Asia, 668
SECURITY COMMISSION FOR EUROPE (PROPOSED), 2005
SEISMOLOGICAL RESEARCH, 492, 994-995, 998, 1000, 1003, 1006, 1532, 1535, 1537, 2013-2016
  bibliography, 1007
  detection. See under Nuclear explosions, underground
  U.S. responsibility, 1926
SELECTIVE SERVICE. See Military service
SENGHAAS, DIETER, 1991
SENSORS, electronic battlefield, 213
SIMULATIONS, 1901
  disarmament negotiations, 1417
SMITH, K. WAYNE, 226
SOCIAL SCIENCE, 1405
  arms control research, 411
  nongovernment nuclear strategists, 1268, 1800
  U.S. foreign affairs research, 1154
SOCIALIST BLOC, divisive, integrative trends, 12, 534
SOCIALIST INTERNATIONAL, position on world issues (1971), 517
SOUTH AFRICA, REPUBLIC OF
  apartheid policy, 54
  defense industry, 1307
  defense policy and programs, 1776
    arms imports, 425
    naval construction, 694
  foreign policy and relations
    Black Africa, 652
    southern Africa, 1702
    southern African federation (proposed), 1989
  strategic position, 1276
SOUTH AMERICA
  anti-Americanism, 588
  arms sales, 1266
  guerrilla warfare, 16
  nuclear-free zone, 1524
  power relationships, 1105
SOUTHEAST ASIA, 132, 157, 540
  Communist China, 668, 1699
  Japan, 620
  multipolar system, 658
  neutralization, 1718
  New Zealand, 261, 597
  Nixon Doctrine, 563
  peacekeeping and development, 1706
  regional cooperation, 1507
  United States, 297, 1120, 1235
SOVEREIGNTY, 1880
SPACE, 1362, 1523, 1530, 2009
  Soviet policy and programs, 478, 989, 1759, 2011
  See also Outer-Space Treaty (1967)
STANDLEY, WILLIAM H., London Naval Treaty (1936), 1409
STANFORD WORKSHOP ON POLITICAL AND SOCIAL ISSUES, 1346
STOCKHOLM INTERNATIONAL PEACE RESEARCH INSTITUTE, annual report 1970/71, 1900
STRATEGIC ARMS LIMITATION TALKS, 140, 193, 370, 403, 406, 409, 436, 438-440, 442, 444, 447, 449, 452, 706, 823, 927, 956, 959-963, 984, 1025, 1140, 1247, 1290, 1320, 1414-1415, 1425, 1427, 1429, 1431, 1477-1479, 1481, 1483, 1773, 1919, 1922, 1926, 1966, 1969-1970, 1972-1973, 1975-1977

STRATEGIC ARMS LIMITATION TALKS--Continued
antiballistic missile limitation, 448
Communist China, 453, 947
effect in Pacific, 1553
European views, 957
forward-based systems, 414, 441
inspection and verification
Soviet-U.S. satellite inspection system (proposed), 1533
use of resident nationals, 493
intelligence role, 244
intermediate-range ballistic missiles, 747
Japan, 958
Joint Soviet-U.S. commission to allay fears (proposed), 404
National Security Council role, 607
political effect of strategic parity, 855
precedents in Washington and London Naval Treaties, 955
President's Assistant for National Security Affairs, 443
qualitative limits, 1934
relationship to Nonproliferation Treaty, 1465
Soviet position, 123, 198, 331, 437, 451, 583, 1918, 1980
stable deterrence, 776
technological change problem, 924
United Nations, 371, 374, 435
U.S. defense spending FY 1973, 1833
U.S. policy, 267, 446-447, 450, 1129-1130, 1482, 1821
European security, 1517
West Germany, 1019
See also Nuclear Accidents Agreement (1971); Hot Line Agreement (1971); Antimissile Systems Limitation Treaty (1972); and Strategic Offensive Arms Interim Agreement (1972)
STRATEGIC BALANCE, 245, 818, 956, 962, 1054, 1773
mathematical analysis of disarmament prospects, 919
multiple independently targetable reentry vehicles, 1261, 1482
parity, 239, 1788
submarine forces, 1753
STRATEGIC INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS, NUCLEAR EXCHANGE MODEL (SIR NEM), 497
STRATEGIC OFFENSIVE ARMS INTERIM AGREEMENT (1972), 1933, 1970, 1972, 1975-1977
economic effect, 1971, 1979
executive branch support, 1968
U.S. legislative action, 1976
STRATEGIC WEAPONS SYSTEMS, 762, 1746, 1748
See also Nuclear weapons
STRATEGY, 29, 33, 284
airpower, 265, 299, 1824
British naval doctrine, 820
communism, 1047
Communist China, 243, 1267
conflict resolution research, 511
France, 1794
interposition, 796
Israel and flexible response, 774
Japanese Naval Self-Defense Force, 1230
multipolar nuclear system, 1816
NATO, 304, 1233
STRATEGY--Continued
naval warfare, 1835
Pacific Ocean area, 811
research, 531, 542, 546
role of economics in Asia, 508
South Africa, 1776
Soviet Union, 187, 231, 300, 644, 753, 804, 1243, 1275, 1918
Eastern Europe, 305
Mediterranean area, 1310
naval forces, 245
superpower options, 1273
technology, 770
United States, 762, 765, 800, 1193, 1271
comparison with Soviet Union, 1243, 1478
conventional forces, 1232
graduated response, 1766
naval forces, 1256
realistic deterrence, 1802
Soviet criticism, 1292
tactical deterrence, 1300
Vietnam war, 1735
Western Europe, 468
SUBMARINES, 201, 771, 1754
arms limitation measures, 401
Soviet Union, 729, 749
Soviet-U.S. comparison, 272
undersea long-range system, 1753
SULE KOLO, ALHAJI, 1928
SUPERPOWERS
Europe, relation to, 1633
nonproliferation policies, 1955, 1957
tripolar system, 533, 1572
world order, 1598
SURPRISE ATTACK CONFERENCE, GENEVA (1958), 1533
SURVIVAL, 1331
SWAZILAND, southern African federation (proposed), 1989
SWEDEN
aircraft industry, 1202
armed forces, 1296
defense policy and programs
military autarky, 1458
northern European balance, 803
neutrality policy impact, 578
nonproliferation, 1959
SWITZERLAND
armed forces, 813
civil-military relations, 294, 303
defense policy and programs, 1298, 1784
deterrence, 1778
national service for women (proposed), 1264
European unification, 1990
Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty (1968), 1465
SYMPOSIUM ON THE INTERNATIONAL REGIME OF THE SEA-BED, ROME (1969), 1529
SYSTEMS ANALYSIS, World War I, 1567

T

TACTICAL NUCLEAR ARMS LIMITATION, 1480, 2032
TAIWAN. See China, Republic of
TANKS, 1210, 1751-1752
TECHNOLOGY. See Science and technology
TENSION AREAS. See specific area or states
TERRORISM. See under Violence

THAILAND
foreign policy and relations
multipolar system, 658
United States, 308
THANT, U, 1878
TREATIES, AGREEMENTS, ETC.
Anglo-German Naval Agreement (1935), 1907
Antarctic Treaty (1959), 481, 1933, 1986
Antimissile Systems Limitation Treaty (1972), 1229, 1773, 1933, 1970, 1972-1973, 1975-1979
U.S. legislative action, 1978
arms control, 403, 927, 1415, 1914, 1933
Austria State Treaty (1955), 964
bibliographies, 1869
Biological Weapons Convention (1972), 1933, 1960-1961, 1963
codification of treaty law, 874
defense pacts, 260
European security, institutionalization, 2005
Hot Line Agreement (1971), 937, 1022, 1523, 1933
Indo-Soviet Friendship Treaty (1971), 567, 1098, 1125, 1647
Japanese-U.S. Security Treaty (1951), 302
Kellogg-Briand Pact (1928), 1911
London Naval Conference (1936), 1409
Moscow Treaty (1970), 78, 88, 140, 184, 353, 603, 616-617, 631, 1094, 1182, 1485, 1640
Nuclear Accidents Agreement (1971), 937, 1022, 1933
Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty (1968), 427, 477, 1468, 1933, 1954
Nuclear Test Ban Treaty (1963), 931, 996, 1008, 1974
Outer-Space Treaty (1967), 989, 1523, 1530, 1933, 2009
Quadripartite Agreement on Berlin (1971), 554, 557, 582, 593, 667, 678, 686, 689, 972, 975, 983, 1055, 1182, 1449, 1663, 1709, 1714, 2002
Seabed Arms Control Treaty (1971), 479, 484-485, 991, 1524, 1933, 2007, 2010
Soviet violations, 1984
Strategic Offensive Arms Interim Agreement (1972), 1933, 1970, 1972, 1975-1977, 1979
study and teaching, 1869
Treaty for the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons in Latin America (1967), Additional Protocol II, 1933
United Nations role, 348
United States, 235, 298
Vienna Convention on the Law of Treaties (1969), 867, 874
Warsaw Treaty (1970), 585, 602, 690, 1020, 1094, 1182, 1640
Washington Conference on the Limitation of Armaments (1921-1922), 955, 1908
See also Common name of the treaty
TRINIDAD, PROJECT, 1009
TRIPOLAR SYSTEM, 571, 1574
effect on Europe, 1562

U

UGANDA, 340
UNILATERAL DISARMAMENT, United Kingdom, Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament, 1910
UNION OF ARABIAN EMIRATES, 1691
UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS
antimissile defense systems, 1973
armed forces
decisionmaking, 1211
Far Eastern deployment, 1710
indoctrination, 1799
maneuvers, 300, 714, 1275
Marine Corps, 1812
Mediterranean area buildup, 821
Navy, 166, 175, 245, 718, 721, 729, 749, 783, 786, 1269, 1274, 1285, 1740, 1781, 1809, 1827
tactical doctrine, 713
weapons and equipment, 710, 1225
civil-military relations, 1236
defense policy and programs, 232, 257, 291, 296, 753, 788, 1262, 1274, 1451, 1783
civil defense, 1237, 1250
comparison with the United States, 818
first-strike capability, 804
Indian Ocean area, 1276
Mediterranean area, 675, 1310
northern Europe, 803
strategic weapons, 229, 742, 1272, 1418, 1919
strategy, 239, 1243, 1275, 1301, 1310, 1788
24th Party Congress, 331, 802
Warsaw Pact, 798
defense spending, 317, 1279
economic constraints, 1980
disarmament policy and proposals, 406, 415, 920, 928, 952, 1421-1422, 1552
Conference of the Committee on Disarmament, 1915
mutual and balanced force reductions, 472
nonproliferation, 1957
nuclear disarmament, 940
strategic arms limitation, 437, 444, 936, 1427, 1431, 1918
world disarmament conference, 1434, 1935
foreign policy and relations, 49, 65, 120, 123, 135, 591, 629, 1136, 1163, 1450, 1598, 1639, 1648, 1664, 1672
Africa, 1087
Arab States, 1071, 1117, 1173
Arab-Israeli dispute, 691, 698, 755, 1101, 1186
Asia, 1571
Austria State Treaty (1955), 964
Berlin negotiations, 554, 557, 582, 593, 667, 678, 680, 686, 689, 972, 975, 983
Brezhnev Doctrine, 50
Canada, 1106
Caribbean area, 799
Communist bloc divisiveness, 534
Communist China, 4, 87, 112, 114, 131, 145, 165, 238, 527, 596, 608, 676, 679, 1070, 1075, 1166, 1170, 1383, 1617, 1637, 1653, 1675, 1687, 1695, 1711
Cuban missile crisis, 156
Czechoslovakia, 111
détente, 692
developing states, 118, 627
Eastern Europe, 12, 74
Europe, 626, 1043, 1579
European integration, 461

UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS--Continued
foreign and policy--Continued
European security 577, 1984-1985, 2004
Finland, 56
France, 139, 660
German problem, 617
India, 567, 1098, 1618, 1647, 1723
Japan, 1164
Latin America, 574
Middle East, 70, 142, 150, 155, 160, 174, 185, 1071, 1117, 1173-1174, 1178, 1185, 1646, 1652, 1700
military role, 271, 647
Mongolia, 1146
Moscow summit (1972), 1612, 1970
Nationalist China, 249
peaceful coexistence, 134
Scandinavian States, 1641
Sino-American rapprochement, 547, 1099
superpowers, 533, 1574
24th Party Congress, 15, 51, 77, 104, 583, 618, 1074
United Nations, 372, 884
United States, 61, 84, 573, 1078, 1140, 1456, 1556, 1674-1675
West Germany, 119, 553
Western Europe, 76, 178, 554, 1046, 1114
international law, 351
legal system, arms control inspection, 2019
military aid, Arab States, 160
military-industrial complex, 841, 1851
neutrality doctrine, 475
science and technology
armed forces, 187
decisionmaking, 198
space policy and programs, 1759, 2011
strategic parity, 855
UNITED ARAB REPUBLIC
foreign policy and relations, 161
Soviet Union, 70, 150, 160, 698, 1667
See also Middle East and North Africa
UNITED KINGDOM
aerospace industry, 1214, 1220
armed forces, 218, 230
Navy, 820, 1276
Common Market membership, 548
defense policy and programs, 218, 795, 822
arms sales to South Africa, 425
counterinsurgency, 1731
economic effect, 858
"East of Suez," 261
Europe, 768
NATO, 220, 1765
disarmament policy and proposals, biological and chemical warfare, 1920
Fellowship Party, 1904
foreign policy and relations, 1025, 1614, 1680
Europe, 1311, 1489
France, 619
military consequences, 756
Southeast Asia, 1706
Northern Ireland, conflict research, 1694
nuclear policy and programs, 1811
Anglo-French nuclear force, 283, 1258
peace movement, Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament, 1910
UNITED KINGDOM--Continued
public opinion on Communist China, 55
UNITED NATIONS ORGANIZATION, 357, 361, 363, 376, 887, 1377, 1390-1391, 1876, 1881, 1884
Africa, 889
Afro-Asian states, 1067
Arab-Israeli dispute, 693
Berlin blockade, 362
charter revision proposals, 369
Communist China, 86, 149, 152, 360, 368, 373, 885, 1077, 1089-1090, 1375, 1383, 1875, 1883
conflict resolution, 1436
decisionmaking, 1373
decline in church participation, 882
delegation subsidy, 1379
disarmament policy and proposals, 374, 435, 918, 1020, 1412, 1917
biological and chemical agents, 1472, 1963
nuclear disarmament conference, 940
nuclear-free zones, 1438
ocean and seabed, 2007
Romanian role, 1927
satellite inspection system, 1533
space, 1523, 2009
world disarmament conference, 1433, 1935
East Pakistan crisis, 673
enemy-state clauses, 1363
German membership, 366, 551, 1143, 1381, 1654, 1661, 1722
Indian Ocean neutralization, 1437
information dissemination, 1872
Intergovernmental Oceanographic Commission, 365
International Law Commission, 1863
international security role, 891
lesser powers, 1591
membership of divided states, 888, 1380
peaceful coexistence, 1394
peacekeeping forces, 348, 359, 378-380, 1387, 1886-1891
Congo, 1892
Cyprus, 1396, 1885
Emergency Force withdrawal (1967), 375
Special Committee on Peacekeeping Operations, 397
permanently neutral states, 892
reform, 877, 881, 886, 1393
secretary-general, 371, 1389, 1878
Security Council, 358
Addis Ababa meeting, 1882
Soviet Union, 381, 884
specialized agencies, 1880
superpower role, 372
United States, 622, 880, 890, 1384, 1392, 1873
universality of membership, 605
Vietnam war, 355
voting behavior, 1879
UNITED NATIONS CONFERENCE ON TRADE AND DEVELOPMENT, 1058
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA
air defense system, 1303-1304
antimissile defense system, 1229
aircraft
B-1 bomber, 1748
C-5A Galaxy, 205

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA--Continued
aircraft--Continued
F-14, 1749
F-111, 214
aircraft carriers, 1741, 1796
armed forces, 793, 1295
Air Force, 806, 1032
Air Force Europe, 1244
all-volunteer force, 764, 1259, 1764, 1790
Army, 215, 790, 1771, 1836, 1846
Joint Chiefs of Staff, 1801
manpower, 1248, 1305
National Guard, 1265
Navy, 212, 224, 333, 752, 779, 1256, 1274, 1772, 1775, 1781, 1827
Navy, nuclear propulsion, 212
Pacific naval limitation (1921-1922), 1908
Selective Service System, 289
unification, 1287
Vietnam war phasedown, 1359
volunteer draft, 1806
Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, 1523
authorization FY 1973 and 1974, 1682, 1924-1926
seismic research responsibility, 1532
Strategic International Relations, Nuclear Exchange Model (SIR NEM), 497
arms trade
control, 1944
conventional transfers, 943
Latin America, 1266
Atomic Energy Commission, 849
appropriations and budgets, 309, 1198, 1222, 1228
FY 1971 report, 1761
Central Intelligence Agency, 225, 244, 570
civil-military relations, 248, 311, 333, 337, 1315, 1329, 1791-1792, 1801, 1813, 1846
bibliography, 1798
professional army, 248
Congress
defense appropriations, 236, 1830
foreign affairs, 73, 79, 298, 1151
decisionmaking
scientists' role, 825
Vietnam war, 1153, 1339
war power, 1629
defense cutbacks, 1542
Eisenhower tank, 202
Defense Department
communication systems, 1454
Joint Strategic Target Planning Staff, 281
reorganization proposals, 219
defense industry, 316, 863, 1543
economic conversion, 240, 325, 498, 842, 853, 1010, 1321, 1345, 1542, 2026
negotiation of contracts, 1807
defense policy and programs, 206, 223, 226, 296, 327, 765, 788, 1418, 1831, 1833
air strategy, 265
arms control implications, 450
arms race, effect on, 1429
biological and chemical agents, 1471, 1475
budget reduction, 320
"coalition approach," 1770
cold war, 754

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA--Continued
defense policy and programs--Continued
collective security agreements, 235
communication media, 290
comparison with the Soviet Union, 758, 812
counterstrategy for interposition, 675
deterrence policy, 776, 1802
electronic battlefield, 213, 1241
Europe, 270, 1650, 1782
Far East, 1775
graduated response, 1766
ground forces deployment, 1232
herbicides, 434
Japan, 302
Kissinger-Nixon doctrine, 1234
McNamara, Robert S., 293
manned-bomber role, 728
Mediterranean area, 675
military assistance, 136, 400, 778, 829, 1306, 1358, 1459, 1946-1947
military bases in Micronesia, 751, 805
NATO, 292, 410, 1233, 1247, 1278, 1789
Nixon Doctrine and Asia, 782
North American Air Defense Command (NORAD), 1787
public opinion, 864
Single Integrated Operational Plan, 1271
Soviet critique, 441-442, 1292, 1360, 1451
Strategic Arms Limitation Talks, effect, 1821
strategic bombing, 1824
strategic submarine force, 1753
strategic sufficiency, 1788
strategic weapons, 267, 405, 441, 762, 800, 1272-1273, 1301, 1739, 1919
strategy. See under Strategy
tactical weapons systems, 228, 1300
technology, 204
"Triad," 800
troop-stationing costs, 1319
weapons systems, 1212
defense procurement, 199
defense research and development, 195, 255, 733, 1215, 1346
Air Force, 1760
laser weapons, 738, 1738
Satellite Early Warning System (SEWS), 739
defense spending, 259, 295, 741, 834, 840, 851, 1280, 1336, 1350, 1822, 1844, 1853, 1855
acquisition of weapons systems, 1858
effect on Maryland, 1543
foreign policy effect, 861
international economic position, 1335
military aid, 1945
Navy, 1822
profits, 318, 857, 1357
Strategic Arms Limitation Talks, 1971
disarmament policy and proposals, 404, 406, 432, 1130, 1415, 1421-1422, 1431, 1797, 1914, 1921, 1933, 1967
Assistant for National Security Affairs, 443
biological and chemical weapons, 1472
comprehensive nuclear test ban, 996, 1539
Conference of the Committee on Disarmament, 927

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA--Continued
disarmament policy and proposals--Continued
IAEA general conference statement, 1004
National Security Council, 445
naval limitation in Pacific (1921-1922), 1908
nonproliferation, 1957
Nuclear Test Ban Treaty (1963), 501
ocean and seabed, 484, 1524, 1526-1527
scientists' role, 1428
strategic arms limitation. See Strategic Arms Limitation Talks
world disarmament conference, 1433
Foreign Assistance Act (FY 1973), 1828
foreign policy and relations, 44-45, 48, 60, 72, 89, 94-95, 107, 109, 117, 127-128, 137, 609, 622, 633-634, 643, 890, 1025, 1027, 1055, 1112, 1115, 1119, 1124, 1129, 1132, 1138, 1149, 1161, 1179, 1553, 1598, 1624, 1656, 1660
Africa, 138, 1882
appropriations, 1682
Arab-Israeli dispute, 1176
Arab States, 1127
Asia, 505, 1571
Australia, 1107
Berlin, 680
Canada, 639, 1657, 1676
categorical analysis, 1666
cold war, 645, 1909
Communist China, 4, 6, 46-47, 49, 53, 64, 66-68, 90, 108, 115, 121, 124, 126, 238, 524, 533, 568, 592, 595, 608, 624, 649, 656, 1054, 1077, 1079, 1081, 1091, 1100, 1108, 1111, 1113, 1116, 1142, 1150, 1169, 1615, 1625, 1631, 1644, 1651, 1655, 1658-1659, 1675, 1687
Communist states, 1026
Council on Foreign Relations, 612
Cuban missile crisis, 156
decisionmaking and formulation, 590, 1109, 1135, 1153, 1201, 1256, 1339, 1671
economic aspects, 510
Europe, 1043
France, 619
Government-sponsored research, 1154
great powers, 1574
India, 1723
Indian Ocean area, 965, 982
Indo-Pakistani conflict, 655, 673, 1141, 1695, 1713
isolationism, 600, 1665
Japan, 80, 561, 628, 635, 816, 1104, 1118, 1160, 1679
Kissinger, Henry, 1678
Latin America, 110, 588, 666, 801, 1105
Middle East, 151, 155, 181, 672, 697, 873, 1147, 1171, 1684, 1713
military power, 271
moral and ethical aspects, 843
Moscow Summit (1972), 1612, 1970
National Security Council role, 572, 607
Nationalist China, 49, 1077, 1155, 1780
Peking Summit (1972), 532, 623, 1128, 1617, 1696
Popeye syndrome, 648
revisionist theory, 1681

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA--Continued
foreign policy and relations--Continued
role of the professional military, 1769
Sino-American rapprochement, 1715
Sino-Soviet dispute, 238, 1637
South Asia, 110, 801
South Korea, 587, 661
Southeast Asia, 132, 540, 1706
Soviet Union, 61, 84, 98-99, 533, 573, 1078, 1140, 1450, 1456, 1556, 1672, 1674-1675
strategic parity, 855
trade unions, 654
tripolar system, 571, 580
United Nations, 362, 372, 880-881, 889, 1067, 1375, 1384, 1391, 1393, 1873
Vatican City, 113
Vietnam, 584, 777, 1162, 1683, 1847
West Germany, 105
military-industrial complex, 240
missiles
Short-Range Attack (SRAM), 1221
strategic weapons, 200
nuclear guarantees, 1952
nuclear policy and programs, 2028
nongovernment strategists, 1268, 1800
Plowshare Project, 1223
peace movement, 1913
Pentagon Papers, 328, 1625
President
access to military information, 769
decisionmaking, 1109
war powers, 750, 766, 814, 1288, 1291, 1312, 1786, 1848
public opinion on the Soviet Union, 1596
State Department
budget, 1682
decisionmaking role, 116
organizational reform, 564
Secretary's Report (1971), 1159
Vietnam war. See Vietnam war
War Powers Act (1971), 1157-1158
world government role, 878
World War II, effect, 1341

V

VATICAN CITY, 113
VERIFICATION. See Inspection and verification
VIENNA CONFERENCE ON EUROPEAN COOPERATION AND SECURITY (1968), 1487
VIENNA CONVENTION ON THE LAW OF TREATIES (1969), 867, 874
VIETNAM, REPUBLIC OF, 177
VIETNAM WAR, 157, 422, 1325, 1339, 1737
bibliography (October 1968-September 1969), 709
chemical agents, 1471, 1475, 1962, 1964
Communist view, 1349, 1829
decisionmaking, 575, 1852
economic effect, 338, 836, 1345, 2021
economic strategy, 1843
effect of Peking Summit (1972), 1696, 1715
escalation, 421, 1443
Gulf of Tonkin incident, 750
human resources, cost, 319, 1328

VIETNAM WAR--Continued
international law, 355
Kissinger-Nixon doctrine, 1234
Laos, 688, 1937
military technology, 730
moral and ethical aspects, 310, 324, 334, 584, 843, 872
Pentagon Papers, 1635
policy semantics, 1323
political and military lessons, 770, 1735
postwar situation, 586, 1706
prisoners of war, 1356, 1370
psychiatric analysis of causes for slaying of civilians, 837
psychiatric casualties, 1348
public opinion, 326, 329, 538, 1325
settlement, 177, 935, 1355, 1444, 1447, 1455
United States, 75, 422, 1162, 1235, 1683, 1766, 1847
Army, 1846
decisionmaking, 575, 1153
policy interpretations, 777
withdrawal, 848, 934, 1156, 1194, 1441, 1539
Vietnamization, 778
war crimes allegations, 860
VIOLENCE, 385, 512, 1580, 1583
civil, international aspects, 1582
nonviolence, 1402
psychiatric analysis of Vietnam war, 837
terrorism, urban guerrillas, 1732

W

WAR, 1724, 1733, 1824
antiwar movement, 1913
bibliography, 809
causes, 25, 188, 525, 532, 703, 705, 1195, 1197, 1736
cost-tolerance, 1592
effect, 338, 836, 842, 850, 1338, 2021
International Peace Court (proposed), 1368
just war, 702, 715
legal aspects, 850, 872, 1365, 1367, 1868, 1911
mobilization, Germany (1939), 234
moral and ethical aspects, 341, 860, 1324
philosophical approach, 42
prevention, 389, 2024
psychological aspects, 192
"war and peace personalities," 2027
revolution against, 387
rules of, 344
scapegoat theory, 704
study and teaching, 282, 1017, 1372
Wright, Quincy, 356
termination, 504, 1196, 1445
unpublicized conflicts, 189
See also Nuclear war
WARFARE
bibliography, 1192
chemical agents in Vietnam, 1475
conventional, 521
electronic battlefield, 213, 1194, 1241
insurgency, counterinsurgency and guerrilla warfare, 186, 712, 775, 1581, 1734
Africa, 1726-1727
WARFARE--Continued
insurgency, counterinsurgency and guerrilla warfare--Continued
Arab-Israeli dispute, 700
international criminal court, 354
United Kingdom, 1731
urban guerrillas, 711, 1732
Yugoslavia, 824
primitive, 1725
WARSAW TREATY (1970), 585, 602, 1020, 1094, 1182, 1640
compatibility with international law, 690
WARSAW TREATY ORGANIZATION, 250
armed forces
comparison with NATO, 256
maneuvers, 714, 1281
paramilitary organizations, 1777
European security, 798, 1983
European security conference (proposed), 1488, 1996
mutual and balanced force reductions, 1252
weaponry, 1225
WASHINGTON CONFERENCE ON THE LIMITATION OF ARMAMENTS (1921-1922), 955
Pacific Ocean area, 1908
WEAPONS. See Arms and armaments; see also specific types, e.g., Missiles, etc.
WELLS, DONALD A., 715
WEST GERMAN-SOVIET RENUNCIATION-OF-FORCE AGREEMENT. See Moscow Treaty (1970)
WESTERN EUROPE
Soviet policy, 76, 1046
See also Europe
WESTERN EUROPEAN UNION
integrated defense, 768
See also Europe, integration
WHITE, RALPH K., 188
WILSON, WOODROW, on disarmament, 1410
WOODS HOLE CONFERENCE (1970), 1534
WORLD CONFERENCE ON WORLD PEACE THROUGH LAW (1971), 871, 876, 1374
WORLD COUNCIL OF CHURCHES, peace, 1896
WORLD DAY OF PEACE, 1403
WORLD DISARMAMENT CONFERENCE (PROPOSED), 953, 1433-1434, 1915, 1935
WORLD GOVERNMENT, 878, 1376
WORLD ORDER, 516, 896, 1069, 1371-1372, 1397, 1573, 1880, 1893, 1903
Communist approach, 15, 22
lesser powers, 1586
restoration of defeated states, 1545
superpowers, 1598
WORLD PEACE ACADEMY (PROPOSED), 1901
WORLD PEACE COUNCIL, Commission on Disarmament, 1953
WORLD PEACE THROUGH LAW CENTER, influence on China, 1857
WORLD WAR I, limited choice interpretation, 1567
WORLD WAR II, United States, effect, 1341
WRIGHT, QUINCY, 356
bibliography, 1372

Z

ZAIRE, REPUBLIC OF, peacekeeping (1960-1964), 1892

[Numbers 1-504 refer to entries in vol. 8, no. 1;
505-1024 to vol. 8, no. 2; 1025-1552 to vol. 8,
no. 3; and 1553-2031 to this issue.]

U. S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE : 1972 O - 476-851